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Withdrawal of Missiles From CSSR 'Completed'

LD162316 Moscow World Service in English 2200 GMT 16 Mar 88

[Text] The Soviet Union has completed the withdrawal from Czechoslovakia of its shorter-range missiles known in the West as SS-12s. The withdrawal of the missiles, slated for destruction under the Soviet-American INF Treaty, from Czechoslovakia and the GDR was undertaken by the Soviet Union in a display of goodwill before the treaty's ratification. The missiles are being brought in for storage in the USSR and will be destroyed after the treaty assumes legal force.

U.S. INF Ratification Discussed

PM161323 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Mar 88 Second Edition p 3

[International observer Aleksandr Golts article under the rubric "International Observer Replies to a Reader": "Two Approaches"]

[Text] This is what Major V. Kuznetsov wrote in his letter from Moscow Oblast:

"I am following with great interest the discussion of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles in the USSR Supreme Soviet. I will not hide the fact that I approve of the deputies' meticulous elucidation of all the nuances of that agreement. I see the attention they give to ensuring that our country's security interests are taken fully into account. At the same time, I am concerned at certain reports in our press on the way the hearings on the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles are proceeding in the U.S. Senate. Now they advance some absurd accusations against us, now they bring procedural questions to the fore. The thought occurs that the discussion of this very important document is not proceeding sufficiently seriously in Washington. Or am I wrong?"

You have rightly noticed, Vladimir Mikhaylovich, that there is a difference between the debates on the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles taking place in the USSR Supreme Soviet and the U.S. Senate. True, it does seem to me wrong to account for this difference by referring to the seriousness of one and the unseriousness of the other.

The fundamental difference lies elsewhere. Our deputies are now carefully elucidating how this agreement will affect the country's security and whether all possible versions of the development of events have been taken into account. And they have not overlooked the questions which ordinary Soviet people ask, expressing one opinion or another of the treaty. But, at the same time, as follows from the speeches at the preparatory commission session, all who are participating in the discussion—scientists and diplomats, military people and priests—concur in understanding and approving the treaty's political aims. They all see it as a real step toward a more secure future and a step away from the nuclear abyss.

In the U.S. Senate, however, despite the fact that the majority of observers believe that this agreement will be ratified in the end, the "war party" has no intention whatever of laying down its arms. On the contrary, it is attacking the treaty from several directions at once.

The treaty's obvious opponents, like Senator Helms, are in the vanguard. It was evidently his behavior, about which we have written a great deal, that struck you as lacking in seriousness. He uses the tribune of the Senate to publicize wittingly absurd fabrications. These actions of his seem an overt farce. Let us recall the U.S. press reports of how, in the sights of numerous television cameras, he tried to thrust into U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz's hands a package prominently marked "top secret," at the same time declaring that it contained data... on the fact that the USSR intends to violate the agreement.

By our yardsticks, however, it is only the methods to which Senator Helms resorts that lack seriousness. His motives are perfectly serious—to wreck the ratification of the Treaty on Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. The same view should also be taken of the behavior of those who, acting in the wings, are trying to get the U.S. legislators to make all kinds of amendments and provisos. It is no coincidence that these amendments are called "killers." For they are aimed at emasculating the treaty and forcing the sides to revise it.

Such amendments could concern problems quite unconnected with questions of eliminating nuclear weapons. Thus, concern cannot fail to be aroused by the statements of R. Byrd, leader of the Senate Democratic majority, who recently made it clear that he will not stop at turning the agreement into a kind of hostage, which is to guarantee the continuation of U.S. aid to the "resistance forces in Afghanistan." Byrd threatened that the Senate will not consider the treaty until the White House gives assurances that support for the forces of the armed opposition in Afghanistan will not be stopped "prematurely."

So you must be clear about this, Vladimir Mikhaylovich. There are forces in the United States, and very influential forces, which are against the treaty. But there is also another side to the matter. Hypothetically speaking, it is a matter of procedural questions, which should, nonetheless, also be treated as political questions. Yes, it is these which have come to the fore now. The Senate leaders have resolutely demanded that the administration recognize its staffers' testimonies with regard to the arms control treaties as "authoritative" and legally binding in the subsequent interpretation of these treaties.

There is no casuistry here. These demands are perfectly understandable if you consider the White House's extremely free-and-easy attitude toward certain U.S.-Soviet agreements. Toward the Treaty on the Limitation of ABM Systems, for example. When the administration wanted to violate its provisions in order to conduct experiments within the framework of the "Star Wars" program, some "broad interpretation" was at once put forward or, rather, invented. According to the administration's claims, it permits precisely what the treaty actually prohibits.

It is natural that senators do not now want a repetition of that business with regard to the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. The secretary of state was forced to send a special letter to the Capitol confirming that all administration officials' testimonies are "authoritative."

A "line-by-line study of the treaty" has now begun in the Senate Armed Services Committee with "authoritative elucidations." The committee, according to its chairman S. Nunn, has already sent to the White House a list of 135 questions on the possibility of an ambiguous interpretation of the provisions of this treaty and is awaiting authoritative explanations.

I will not try to make a comprehensive assessment of the significance of this conflict between legislative and executive power in the United States. It is up to the U.S. senators to discuss the treaty in the way they consider necessary. One thing is disturbing: The bringing to light of the relationship between the White House and the Capitol has already seriously upset the operating schedule for the treaty's ratification.

Account must be taken here of the fact that the opponents of ratification have based their policy precisely on a tactic of delays and procrastination. Both Helms' pranks and the submission of "killer" amendments are aimed at dragging the hearings out as long as possible.

The treaty's opponents proceed from the premise that the present administration has already entered its last year. And the attitude toward the treaty on the part of those who have joined in the presidential race is ambiguous. Yes, all the Democratic Party's aspirants support it. Among the Republicans Vice President G. Bush is for it. But another aspirant—Senator R. Dole—came out in support of the agreement only after serious hesitation. As for Senator J. Kemp and television preacher P. Robertson, who are also seeking nomination as candidates, they are resolutely opposed to it. So the delay over ratification gives the agreement's enemies some hope.

But even that is not all. The treaty's opponents, THE NEW YORK TIMES pointed out, "have taken aim at a more important target—the future treaty on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive arms." For the longer the debate over the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles takes, the less chance there is of the agreement which is now being drawn up getting to the Senate under the present administration, if it is signed.

As you see, Comrade Kuznetsov, there are still many serious political problems on the way to ratification. But there is confidence that, given goodwill, they will all be resolved. And I am convinced of this, above all, by the U.S. people's broad approval for the treaty. Thus, according to Detroit's Market Opinion Research organization, 79 percent of U.S. citizens support it. And in election year U.S. politicians cannot disregard this.

Let us sum up. In Moscow, let us emphasize once again, a strenuous analysis is being made of the treaty's individual provisions with regard, above all, to the problems of ensuring our security. At the same time, the political will to conclude this agreement is obvious. The debate is proceeding no less seriously in the United States. But there the question is posed differently: Is the treaty to be or not to be?

Pact Experts Hold Session in Sofia 16 Mar
LD162001 Moscow TASS in English 1942 GMT 16 Mar 88

[Text] Sofia March 16 TASS—The working group of experts of the Warsaw treaty member countries on issues of reducing the armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe held a session in Sofia today.

They examined prospects of the Vienna consultations of representatives of the Warsaw treaty and NATO countries and results of bilateral contacts with the NATO states, neutral and non-aligned European nations, connected with the elaboration of a mandate for talks on reducing the armed forces and conventional armaments from the Atlantic to the Urals.

The experts continued work on the general concept of the future negotiations.

Military Exercises With CSSR To Begin 22 March
LD151707 Moscow TASS in English 1651 GMT 15 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 15 TASS—It was officially announced here today that up [as received] agreement with the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic a joint troop exercise of the Central Group of Forces and of the Czechoslovak People's Army will be held from March 22 to March 28 in the territory of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic in the area of Jachymov, Becov, Benatky, Liberec, Decin, in order to upgrade field training standards.

Formations and units of the land forces and the air forces will participate in the exercises. The total number of troops involved in the exercises will be 17,300.

In accordance with the document of the Stockholm conference, the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has invited observers from all countries participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe to watch the exercises.

United States & Canada

Shamir Fails To Agree to U.S. Peace Plan

LD162250 Moscow TASS in English 2055 GMT 16 Mar 88

[Text] Washington March 16 TASS—U.S. President Ronald Reagan and Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir, now on an official visit in the United States, held negotiations at the White House today. Firm allegiance of the U.S. and Israeli leaderships to further consolidation of the American-Israeli strategic alliance was reaffirmed at the meeting.

Israel is one of the most important American allies outside NATO, said President Reagan, bidding Shamir farewell after the meeting. Unique relations, based on confidence, friendship and shared ideas, exist between the United States and Israel, he said. A firm foundation for strategic cooperation between the two states was established over the past years, he said. But as was clear from the President's pronouncements, during the White House negotiations the sides failed to come to agreement as to the U.S.-proposed plan for a Middle East settlement.

As was noted by the Israeli prime minister, he had strong reservations concerning the proposed international conference, which, he believes, is not conducive to peace in the region. Addressing Reagan, Shamir said that between the United States and Israel there had always been full concord vis-a-vis the principles of negotiations on a Middle East settlement, which should be "conducive from the position of strength".

'Satisfaction' in Peres Camp

TA170945 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 17 Mar 88 p 1

[Report by political correspondent 'Aqiva Eldar]

[Text] Foreign Minister Shim'on Peres' office expressed satisfaction last night with President Reagan's comments at the end of his meeting with Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir. Labor Party circles particularly emphasized that President Reagan said that those who say "nay" to the U.S. peace initiative bear a responsibility for this vis-a-vis their people.

Carlucci, Yazov Continue Talks in Bern

'Thorny Topics' Not Avoided

LD162041 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2000 GMT 16 Mar 88

[Text] Bern, 16 Mar (TASS)—The meeting between Dmitriy Yazov, the USSR defense minister and Army general, and Frank Carlucci, U.S. secretary of defense began in Bern today.

Colonel General Nikolay Chervov, a member of the Soviet military delegation, noted in a conversation with press representatives that the talks are being held in a constructive spirit. A frank [otkrovennyy] and serious discussion is underway on a broad range of military-political and military-technical problems, and the two sides' positions and the fundamental points of military doctrines are being compared. While not avoiding thorny topics, the defense ministers of the USSR and the United States are striving above all to find points of contact and are searching for resolutions to the most complicated questions in the area of reducing both nuclear and conventional weapons, for opportunities to begin talks as soon as possible on reducing armed forces and armaments in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals, and for stepping up talks on banning chemical weapons and on the problem of nuclear tests. Both sides expressed the view that it is essential to establish greater trust and mutual understanding, and to continue a frank dialogue on all issues discussed.

Atmosphere 'Well-Wishing'

LD161713 Moscow TASS in English 1706 GMT 16 Mar 88

[Text] [Words indistinct] March 16 (TASS)—This afternoon, Soviet Defence Minister General of the Army Dmitriy Yazov and U.S. Defence Secretary Frank Carlucci continued their meeting at the Soviet Embassy in Switzerland here.

In the talks, held in an atmosphere of candour and well-wishing, the sides are discussing a broad range of military-political and military-technical issues.

Both sides expressed the view that it was necessary to establish great confidence and mutual understanding and continue the frank dialogue on all problems under discussion.

Military 'Incidents' Reviewed

LD161544 Moscow TASS in English 1507 GMT 16 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 16 TASS—One of the important problems discussed at the talks between General of the Army Dmitriy Yazov, defense minister of the USSR, and U.S. Defense Secretary Frank Carlucci that started in Bern today is the prevention of military incidents between American and Soviet Armed Forces. Any such incident is fraught with serious consequences both for bilateral relations and the world situation in general.

Unfortunately, such incidents took place on more than one occasion in the past several years.

—On March 24, 1985, a Soviet sentry, acting in full conformity with the Army manual, (?stopped) a U.S. spy action on territory of a closed military facility near the city of Ludwigslust, Schwerin District, GDR. As a result of it, an American serviceman was killed. The sentry who

was guarding a military hardware depot saw a stranger dressed in camouflage clothes who secretly penetrated the depot zone, opened a window of the depot and began to make photos. The Soviet soldier demanded in Russian and German that he should stop. When the stranger did not comply with the demand and tried to flee, the sentry fired a warning shot over his head. The stranger did not stop, and the sentry had to use his weapon for the second time.

It was established that the stranger was Major Arthur Nicholson, officer of the U.S. Military Liaison Mission. The tragic outcome of the incident of March 24 is deplorable. However, facts show that the American side is fully to blame for it.

—On March 13, 1986, U.S. warships violated the USSR state border in the Black Sea, off the southern coast of the Crimea. This action was of an ostentatious nature and obviously furthered provocative aims.

—On May 17 and 21, 1987, the Arkansas nuclear-powered missile-carrying cruiser of the U.S. Navy violated the USSR state border in the area of the Avacha Bay. The actions of the U.S. warship were also of a deliberate and provocative nature and were obviously taken in violation of the Soviet laws and regulations connected with the regime of Soviet territorial waters.

—On February 12, 1988, the Yorktown cruiser and the Caron destroyer again violated the USSR state borders. [words indistinct] the Black Sea off the Crimean coast. The American warships penetrated deep the Soviet territorial waters and started dangerous manoeuvering. Soviet frontier guards were compelled to try and drive the U.S. warships out of the Soviet territorial waters. The dispatching of U.S. warships to the Crimean coast with a provocative mission put in jeopardy the lives of American sailors and turned into a dangerous incident.

Talks End 17 March

LD171130 Moscow TASS in English 1116 GMT 17 Mar 88

[Text] Bern March 17 TASS—General of the Army Dmitriy Yazov, defense minister of the USSR, and U.S. Defense Secretary Frank Carlucci ended a meeting here today.

During the meeting they discussed and compared the military doctrines of the Soviet Union and the United States and examined some matters of principle with a view to finding solutions to the thornier problems of Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space arms, facilitating the commencement of negotiations on cuts in armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe, destroying chemical weapons, and terminating nuclear testing.

Opinions were exchanged also on the issues of preventing incidents between the Armed Forces of the USSR and the U.S., building trust and developing contacts at military level.

The conversations were marked by candor and held in a businesslike and constructive atmosphere.

News Conference Held

LD171407 Moscow TASS in English 1334 GMT 17 Mar 88

[Text] Bern March 17 TASS—General of the Army Dmitriy Yazov, defense minister of the USSR, said at a press-conference today that his meeting here with U.S. Defense Secretary Frank Carlucci had been substantive in content, candid and useful.

"We saw the main goal of the meeting in facilitating better mutual understanding about the military aspects of Soviet-American relations and the resolution of the most important problem of the times—that of averting nuclear war and stopping the arms race," he said.

"The talks we've held have strengthened our conviction that the chiefs of the defense ministries of the two countries should work even more actively to assist the development of Soviet-U.S. relations in the spirit of the decisions that have been taken by the leaders of our countries, as well as an in-depth discussion of and the settlement of the military-political and military-technical matters related to disarmament and security," Yazov said.

Carlucci also expressed a positive view of the exchange of opinions that has taken place and expressed himself for continued dialogue between the military leaders of the two countries.

But his statement at the final press conference confirmed the impression that the American side is displaying certain conservatism and misunderstanding as regards the opportunities opening up for easing international tension and achieving real disarmament.

Carlucci 'Approach' Condemned

LD161808 Moscow TASS in English 1734 GMT 16 Mar 88

["TASS News Analyst on Frank Carlucci's pronouncements"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow March 16 TASS—TASS military news analyst Vladimir Chernyshev writes:

Among other issues, the main provisions of the military doctrines of the Soviet Union and the United States are to be discussed and compared during the current meeting in Bern between General of the Army Dmitriy Yazov, minister of defence of the USSR, and U.S. Secretary of Defence Frank Carlucci. During the discussion the Soviet side expects a frank and constructive talk and the possibility of an in-depth dialogue for the sake of mutual understanding and trust between the USSR and the USA. This was precisely the keynote of the Soviet defence minister's interview given to a TASS correspondent on the eve of the meeting and published in the press.

It would seem that one could count on a similar restrained and unprejudiced approach on the part of the U.S. side as well. However, unfortunately, the U.S. secretary of defence took up an attitude which can hardly be described as an unprejudiced and constructive one.

When giving interviews to journalists, the Pentagon chief both in Washington, on board the plane, and upon arrival in Bern was busy bringing it home that in Soviet military planning or in the production of arms "there has been absolutely no practical change" which could confirm the Soviet Union's statements about the defensive nature of its military doctrine.

So, without even listening to the Soviet minister, the U.S. representative dotted the I's and crossed the T's, so to say, in advance. What was then, query, the purpose of arriving in Bern if he already has answers to questions which are on the agenda of the meeting? I think such approach by the U.S. defence secretary does not accord with elementary requirements of ethics, not to mention diplomacy.

There is no doubt that the Soviet side had every ground to ask Washington a whole number of questions concerning its own military doctrine before the meeting in Bern. The U.S. doctrine formulated in the first years of the term of office of the present U.S. Administration is based on 'countervailing strategy' with regard to the Soviet Union and its specific provisions are set out in Presidential Directive 75 dated March 17, 1983, and the directive in the field of military construction for 1984-1988 endorsed by the U.S. secretary of defence.

Can the provisions, formulated in these documents—such as achieving U.S. complete and indisputable superiority, restoring America's leading role in the world, and actively counteracting the Soviet Union in everything and in all parts of the world—be an evidence of defensive character of the U.S. military doctrine? I think any person, even the one who is rather remote from military issues, would answer this question in the negative.

What do the provisions of yet another document—directives for the building of the U.S. Armed Forces say? One of the provisions directs the Armed Forces as follows: In nuclear war the United States should gain the upper hand and have an opportunity to force the Soviet Union within a short period of time to cease military operations on U.S. terms. Another provision has it that the United States would be the first to use nuclear weapons both on a global scale and at theatres of operations. Such (?provocations) are indicative of an (?naive), aggressive nature of the military doctrine of the United States.

Considering everything stated, it is permissible to ask Mr Carlucci as follows: Are the above-mentioned documents cancelled and, if cancelled, what is now the essence of the U.S. military doctrine? If they are not cancelled, what grounds does the Pentagon chief, who is busy denigrating the military doctrine of the USSR, have to speak of 'defensive' character of the U.S. doctrine so categorically and unfoundedly?

Yazov Meets With Swiss Anti-Nuclear Group

LD170843 Moscow TASS in English 0751 GMT 17 Mar 88

[Text] Bern March 17 TASS—Dmitriy Yazov, alternate member of the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee and defense minister of the USSR who is staying in Switzerland met here Wednesday with representative of the Swiss branch of the international movement "International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War".

During their conversation the Soviet defense minister expressed high appreciation of the activities of public anti-war organizations in the struggle for the preservation of peace on the earth. He assured representatives of the international organization that the Soviet leadership spared no effort for attaining a complete ban on all the nuclear tests, as well as the termination of the arms race.

Dobrynin Holds 'Amicable' Meeting With McNamara

PM161635 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Mar 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "In an Amicable Atmosphere"]

[Text] CPSU Central Committee Secretary A.F. Dobrynin received the prominent U.S. public figure and former U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara at the latter's request. In the course of their conversation, prospects of further constructive progress along the road of nuclear and conventional arms reduction were discussed. It was noted that the results of M.S. Gorbachev's visit to Washigton and the conclusion of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles have created a good basis for taking another major step in the said area and achieving substantial progress here in the near future. This applies primarily to the drafting of an agreement on strategic offensive arms in conditions of the observance of the 1972 ABM Treaty. At present it is important to avoid losing momentum at the talks and to exclude all artificial obstacles in this matter.

The interlocutors stressed that scientists and the public of the two countries had an important role to play in studying and resolving the problems of arms reduction on the basis of the new thinking. With reference to the new thinking, McNamara said that M.S. Gorbachev's innovative activity in introducing new approaches and principles in international politics is meeting with the broadest response among many representatives of the U.S. scientific world and political and other circles.

The conversation passed in an informal and amicable atmosphere.

Reagan's 'Inverted Logic' on SDI Criticized
PM161659 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Mar 88 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Linnik dispatch: "Inverted Logic"]

[Text] New York, 15 Mar—The customary brilliance and feeling with which the President usually reads his prepared speeches as he gazes at the teleprompter were obviously absent this time. This was quite strange—for Ronald Reagan was speaking on one of his favorite topics, the "Strategic Defense Initiative." The pretext this time was the 5th anniversary of his notorious speech of March 1983 when the idea of "Star Wars" was presented for the first time. The location of the present action is an SDI conference in Washington: The people on the presidium are E. Teller, ideological pastor of "Star Wars" and creator of the hydrogen bomb, General J. Abrahamson, director of the SDI organization, and other officials.

Almost 2,000 days later, the President once again tried to convince the public, the Congress, and also his successor in the White House what a splendid thing SDI is. There were no new arguments "for" since there could not be; therefore, the President laid more stress on rhetorical questions. "Surely the time has come to rid mankind of its folly?" he inquired. "Surely it is time to start using the medicine that we have invented against the threat of nuclear destruction?"

Of course the time has come—but not to transfer the arms race into space! Of course it is time—but can we regard as medicine the hundreds and thousands of weapons systems looming over mankind's head?

Of course, Congress, "whose awareness moves more slowly than progress in physics," as Ronald Reagan stated, was the first to catch it from the President. Evidently foreseeing Congress' next bloodletting on SDI appropriations this fiscal year, the President simply exploded:

"I believe that delay in developing and deploying SDI is simply unconscionable in the face of the gravity of the nuclear threat looming over mankind."

According to the President's logic, "it is unconscionable" not to spend tens of billions of dollars on dangerous militarist chimeras. "It is unconscionable" to seek stability in the world by means of weapons reductions and not by means of compensating for any reductions with the creation of other equally dangerous systems. "It is unconscionable," according to these ideas, to cut military expenditure in the face of a yawning budget deficit and to strive for peaceful cooperation in space and not continue rivalry which costs billions and billions. Inverted logic—and how!

It is not surprising that people in the United States are increasingly disinclined to accept this. Hence the obvious lack of the President's usual good spirits on such a memorable anniversary for him.

Shultz Remarks at Senate INF Hearings Cited
PM161550 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Mar 88 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "G. Shultz' Speech"]

[Text] Washington, 15 Mar—U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz on Monday addressed the Senate Foreign Relations Committee of the U.S. Congress, where the latest hearings were in progress on the question of the ratification of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. "The committee should recommend that the full Senate agree to the ratification of this treaty without amendments or reservations," he said. Shultz' speech marked the end of the U.S. Administration's official presentation of the Soviet-American agreement to the Senate.

The secretary of state said that the treaty "strengthens U.S. security," adding that the benefits of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles will be even greater if it is subsequently possible to elaborate an agreement on strategic offensive arms reduction and secure a verifiable global ban on chemical arms and balance in nonnuclear arms in Europe at a lower level.

"One treaty," the secretary of state went on, "can resolve some of the problems facing us, but no one treaty can resolve all the problems. We must make progress where it is possible and where we have an agreement that clearly accords with our interests and the interests of our allies. Expecting to achieve everything at once is the best way to achieve nothing."

Ultraconservative Senator Jesse Helms, who was present at the hearings, once again expounded a collection of "arguments" against the Soviet-American treaty. His theses were not notable for their novelty: the same old arguments that the agreement supposedly "does not in practice reduce" nuclear arms and that the monitoring system is "full of loopholes." Senator Brock Adams, who took the floor next, stated that he "does not agree with the conclusions" put forward by Helms. Claiborne Pell, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, noted that he "shares these feelings."

Senators Write Shultz Over W. Bank, Gaza Events
PM161315 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Mar 88 Second Edition p 5

[Report by own correspondent V. Gan: "The Approach Has Not Changed"]

[Text] Washington, 9 Mar—For three whole months, U.S. legislators have been hard at it pretending that "nothing unusual" is happening either in the Gaza Strip or in the

West Bank of the Jordan. But the scenes of brutality, filling television screens day after day with human pain and tragedy, have made this silence unseemly.

Now 30 influential senators have sent a letter to U.S. Secretary of State Shultz expressing their "concern and disappointment" at Israel's outrages against Palestinians. They also criticized Tel Aviv's refusal to hold talks on the liberation of captured lands in exchange for peace in the region. As the legislators' aides announced, the letter would have been signed by many more senators had the authors had enough time before the present one-week break in the work of the Senate. In any event, the signatories included old and loyal friends of Israel, such as Senators Cranston, Moynihan, Adams, Deconcini, Lautenberg, Boschwitz, Simpson, and Levin.

It is essentially an unprecedented action, especially when you consider the election campaign currently unfolding in the United States: In the course of it, the Zionist lobby has become extremely active, and it is considered dangerous to quarrel with it. The only explanation of the situation, perhaps, is that very many people in the U.S. Jewish community have also been shocked by the violence against the Palestinians. The press has shown that one is hardly likely to find another such figure as former Secretary of State Kissinger, who advised Tel Aviv to put down the "revolution of stones ruthlessly and swiftly."

But the senators' letter is by no means evidence of any change in the approach by Congress and, indeed, by Washington as a whole to the Near East conflict. As the legislators themselves point out in the letter, they "understand perfectly" Israel's refusal to hold talks with the PLO which, as is known, is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Instead the senators give support to the current U.S. plan for a settlement essentially modeled on the discredited Camp David accords, which offer the Arab countries the path of unjust separate deals and leave no room for the creation of an independent Palestian state.

Golts Discusses U.S. INF Treaty Ratification

PM161323 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Mar 88 Second Edition p 3

[International observer Aleksandr Golts article under the rubric "International Observer Replies to a Reader": "Two Approaches"]

[Text] This is what Major V. Kuznetsov wrote in his letter from Moscow Oblast:

"I am following with great interest the discussion of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles in the USSR Supreme Soviet. I will not hide the fact that I approve of the deputies' meticulous elucidation of all the nuances of that agreement. I see the attention they give to ensuring that our country's security interests are taken fully into account. At the same time, I am concerned by certain reports in our press on the way the hearings on the INF Treaty are proceeding in the U.S. Senate. Now they advance some absurd accusations against us; now they bring procedural questions to the fore. The thought occurs that the discussion of this very important document is not proceeding sufficiently seriously in Washington. Or am I wrong?"

You have rightly noticed, Vladimir Mikhaylovich, that there is a difference between the debates on the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles taking place in the USSR Supreme Soviet and the U.S. Senate. True, it does seem to me wrong to account for this difference by referring to the seriousness of one and the unseriousness of the other.

The fundamental difference lies elsewhere. Our deputies are now carefully elucidating how this agreement will affect the country's security and whether all possible versions of the development of events have been taken into account. They have not overlooked the questions that ordinary Soviet people ask, expressing one opinion or another of the treaty. But, at the same time, as follows from the speeches at the preparatory commission session, all who are participating in the discussion—scientists and diplomats, military people and priests—concur in understanding and approving the treaty's political aims. They all see it as a real step toward a more secure future and a step away from the nuclear abyss.

In the U.S. Senate, however, despite the fact that the majority of observers believe that this agreement will be ratified in the end, the "war party" has no intention whatever of laying down its arms. On the contrary, it is attacking the treaty from several directions at once.

The treaty's obvious opponents, like Senator Helms, are in the vanguard. It was evidently his behavior, about which we have written a great deal, that struck you as lacking in seriousness. He uses the tribune of the Senate to publicize wittingly absurd fabrications. These actions of his seem an overt farce. Let us recall the U.S. press reports of how, in the sights of numerous television cameras, he tried to thrust into U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz's hands a package prominently marked "top secret," at the same time declaring that it contained data... on the fact that the USSR intends to violate the agreement.

By our yardsticks, however, it is only the methods to which Senator Helms resorts that lack seriousness. His motives are perfectly serious—to wreck the ratification of the Treaty on the Eliminatuon of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. The same view should also be taken of the behavior of those who, acting in the wings, are trying to get the U.S. legislators to make all kinds of amendments and provisos. It is no coincidence that these amendments are called "killers:" They are aimed at emasculating the treaty and forcing the sides to revise it.

Such amendments could concern problems quite unconnected with questions of eliminating nuclear weapons. Thus, concern cannot fail to be aroused by the statements of R. Byrd, leader of the Senate Democratic majority, who recently made it clear that he will not stop at turning the agreement into a kind of hostage, which is to guarantee the continuation of U.S. aid to the "resistance forces in Afghanistan." Byrd threatened that the Senate will not consider the treaty until the White House gives assurances that support for the forces of the armed opposition in Afghanistan will not be stopped "prematurely."

So you must be clear about this, Vladimir Mikhaylovich. There are forces in the United States, and very influential forces, which are against the treaty. But there is also another side to the matter. Hypothetically speaking, it is a matter of procedural questions, which should, nonetheless, also be treated as political questions. Yes, these have come to the fore now. The Senate leaders have resolutely demanded that the administration recognize its staffers' testimonies with regard to the arms control treaties as "authoritative" and legally binding in the subsequent interpretation of these treaties.

There is no casuistry here. These demands are perfectly understandable if you consider the White House's extremely free-and-easy attitude toward certain U.S.-Soviet agreements, toward the ABM Treaty, for example. When the administration wanted to violate its provisions in order to conduct experiments within the framework of the "Star Wars" program, some "broad interpretation" was at once put forward or, rather, invented. According to the administration's claims, it permits precisely what the treaty actually prohibits.

It is natural that senators do not now want a repetition of that business with regard to the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. The secretary of state was forced to send a special letter to the Capitol confirming that all administration officials' testimonies are "authoritative."

A "line-by-line study of the treaty" has now begun in the Senate Armed Services Committee with "authoritative elucidations." The committee, according to its chairman S. Nunn, has already sent to the White House a list of 135 questions on the possibility of an ambiguous interpretation of the provisions of this treaty and is awaiting authoritative explanations.

I will not try to make a comprehensive assessment of the significance of this conflict between legislative and executive power in the United States. It is up to the U.S. senators to discuss the treaty in the way they consider necessary. One thing is disturbing: The bringing to light of the relationship between the White House and the Capitol has already seriously upset the operating schedule for the treaty's ratification.

Account must be taken here of the fact that the opponents of ratification have based their policy precisely on a tactic of delays and procrastination. Both Helms' pranks and the submission of "killer" amendments are aimed at dragging the hearings out as long as possible.

The treaty's opponents proceed from the premise that the present administration has already entered its last year. The attitude toward the treaty on the part of those who have joined in the presidential race is ambiguous. Yes, all the Democratic Party's aspirants support it. Among the Republicans, Vice President G. Bush is for it. But another aspirant, Senator R. Dole, came out in support of the agreement only after serious hesitation. As for Senator J. Kemp and television preacher P. Robertson, who are also seeking nomination as candidates, they are resolutely opposed to it. So the delay over ratification gives the agreement's enemies some hope.

But even that is not all. The treaty's opponents, THE NEW YORK TIMES pointed out, "have taken aim at a more important target—the future treaty on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive arms." For the longer the debate over the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles takes, the less chance there is of the agreement now being drawn up getting to the Senate under the present administration, if it is signed.

As you see, Comrade Kuznetsov, there are still many serious political problems on the way to ratification. But there is confidence that, given goodwill, they will all be resolved. I am convinced of this, above all, by the U.S. people's broad approval for the treaty. Thus, according to Detroit's Market Opinion Research organization, 79 percent of U.S. citizens support it. In election year, U.S. politicians cannot disregard this.

Let us sum up. In Moscow, let us emphasize once again, a strenuous analysis is being made of the treaty's individual provisions with regard, above all, to the problems of ensuring our security. At the same time, the political will to conclude this agreement is obvious. The debate is proceeding no less seriously in the United States. But there the question is posed differently: Is the treaty to be or not to be?

Alleged U.S. Spy Ship Protested by Panama

PM151337 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Mar 88 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Washington Against Panama"]

[Text] Washington, 8 Mar—The Panamanian authorities have protested to the United States in connection with the fact that a U.S. spy ship is operating in the immediate vicinity of the country's shores. According to the Panamanian military intelligence service, it is fitted with modern radioelectronic equipment, which can be used to listen in to telephone conversations, intercept radio signals, and monitor satellite communication channels.

According to information coming out of Panama, Delvalle, the country's former president, and representatives of the Panamanian opposition who support him have announced their intention to create a "government of national reconciliation" with a view to removing General Noriega from the post of commander in chief of the country's National Defense Forces—which is what Washington is seeking so persistently.

Marlin Fitzwater, official White House spokesman, reported Monday that the Reagan administration is continuing to consider a number of actions with regard to Panama. He refused to specify just what measures are being elaborated in official Washington, but he declared that they include a wide range of various trade and economic sanctions. According to the White House spokesman, the United States would recognize the government of overthrown President Delvalle "if it were created."

Northeast Asia

Opposition Leader Kim Tae-chung Resigns

LD171017 Moscow TASS in English 0949 GMT 17 Mar 88

[Text] Tokyo March 17 TASS—Kim Tae-chung has announced today his resignation as the leader of the Peace and Democracy Party. That South Korean opposition party has accepted his decision. Kim Tae-chung's resignation is connected with the demand for his resignation by another opposition party—the Reunification Democratic Party. It has been put forward as a precondition for the merger of these two parties.

Another leading South Korean opposition figure Kim Yong-sam resigned as chairman of the Reunification Democratic Party in February, yet Kim Tae-chung refused to resign before the holding of elections to South Korea's National Assembly scheduled for April. Now as Kim Tae-chung has resigned the possibility opens for the unification of the Reunification Democratic Party and the Peace and Democracy Party prior to the holding of parliamentary elections.

Disunity of opposition was the main cause of the defeat suffered by Kim Tae-chung and Kim Yong-sam in the direct presidential elections in December last year when No Tae-u, leader of the ruling Democratic Justice Party was elected President of South Korea.

Yakovlev Meets Socialist Secretaries in Mongolia

LD162048 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 16 Mar 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report by T. Lordkipanidze, identified by screen caption]

[Text] A conference of secretaries of fraternal parties' central committees of the socialist countries on ideology questions opened in Ulaanbaatar today. Comrade Yakovlev is taking part in the conference for the CPSU.

[Lordkipanidze] The conference was opened by Tserendashiyn Namsray, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee. He said that the participants are to exchange views on topical problems and contemporary ideological tasks of fraternal parties in the light of new political thinking.

At the morning session a speech was given by Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev, who said in particular: Restructuring even today at its very initial stage is giving us a tangible return. We see it in increased rates, in the fact that our economy is becoming more rational and efficient. But we see the greatest effect of restructuring in the ideological and moral sphere, in the way people's involvement and activity has grown, as the processes of democratization and glasnost are being confirmed in life. The central direction of the development of socialism lies here today.

We know that the fraternal countries are attentively following the progress of perestroyka in the Soviet Union. We are grateful for this attention and for the sincere interest in our affairs and views. Every country, said Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev in conclusion, builds its policy in accordance with its own conditions and its own particular circumstances; it solves its own specific tasks. Exchange of experience unarguably enriches the theory of socialism, and perfects the instrumentation which we have at our disposal to solve creative tasks.

The conference continues.

Specialists' Role in Mongolia Reviewed

PM161125 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Mar 88 First Edition p 5

[Article by V. Orlov under the rubric "Community: Readers on Cooperation": "Only an Understudy? Soviet Specialist V. Orlov, who works in Mongolia, offers his options for increasing the efficiency of economic integration"]

[Text] This is the fourth year I have been working in Mongolia under a technical assistance contract: as consultant to the chief agronomist at the "Barun-Khara" [name as published] state farm, leader of a group of Soviet specialists, and, now, at the Mongolian People's Republic [MPR] Ministry of Agriculture. I want to share some of my observations.

Cooperation between the USSR and the MPR in the sphere of agriculture has long-standing traditions. They were boosted during the years of virgin land development. The long joint efforts proved fruitful. Mongolia meets its own grain requirements in full. The mixed feed industry has been developed.

Dairy livestock raising became a second virgin land for the Republic. With our country's installation 34 mechanized stockraising units were constructed in the MPR and 34,000 hectares of irrigated land were commissioned to provide them with feed. Joint agricultural enterprises are possible. A certain number of Soviet specialists for the Mongolian countryside is essential. It is premature to speak of exchanging contracts. But it is perhaps worth considering the return.

First about the composition of cadres sent on working trips. Initially agronomists and engineers predominated: The sector needed their knowledge. Then accountants and economists were needed. But with the growth of national cadres on many state farms the need for consultants disappeared. The infrastructure developed and applications appeared for heat engineers, plumbers, and master repairmen. Right now there are just 87 leading specialists on the 32 state farms where our envoys work, but there are 80 sanitary engineers, heat engineers, electricians, and diesel operators.

This list toward "secondary" professions maintained through credit is frequently blamed on the "Selkhozpromeksport" and "Vneshtekhnika." Yet specialists are dispatched with a consideration for the Mongolian side's request. And the Mongolian side decided some time ago that instead of economists it was more advantageous to maintain the technical personnel on whom the introduction of mechanization at stockraising units depends. And it would seem that you could not argue with this. Once you are confident that your own agronomists and economists are no worse, why invite understudies from elsewhere? It is another matter to ask if there are guarantees that shortcomings will not ensue.

Practice has shown that the Mongolian side was in a hurry to "trade off" the consultant economists. On the majority of state farms and agricultural associations under our tutelage it is the economics service which is the weak link. This matter is now being put right, but time has been lost.

I am far from thinking that everything in the work of Soviet specialists has the badge of quality. As a recent certification showed, some of our specialists are not beyond reproach either. We have had to part with many of them. Today the talk is from the positions of real zealots. But even they still have equal shares of successes and failures. Hence the well-known dissatisfaction.

The aim of our stay is to help our Mongolian counterparts in assimilating the planned capacities of state farms and agricultural associations. But 10-15 years on it has become clear that it is virtually impossible to achieve successes because all agricultural enterprises constructed with our aid have been reoriented. And more than once. The same fate befell the "Barun-Khara" where I started work.

A course has now been steered toward concentrating the efforts of Soviet specialists. Teams of consultants—from agronomist to plumber—are being created. In the very near future they will "cover" 10 farms. They will gradually work out all key questions in arable farming and livestock raising with a consideration for scientific and practical achievements. But that is only the start. In my view the apparatus of the fully empowered representative of the USSR Gosagroprom and our group at the MPR Ministry of Agriculture are in need of serious restructuring. In practice they duplicate each other and control over the work of Soviet specialists is exercised feebly and unsystematically. Another thing. We can exert no substantial influence on the state of affairs locally. After all we consultants are subordinate to the departments to which we have been attached and each check involving a local trip is accompanied by great difficulties.

At the same time economic failures are often ascribed to the errors allegedly perpetrated by Soviet consultants, which undoubtedly harms cooperation. Only practical aid is valued—the direct participation of USSR envoys in the repair of equipment, the harvest, and so forth. But is it necessary to maintain highly paid specialists on state farms for the purpose?

It is time to investigate the work of our numerous specialists abroad, to study their work loads, and to ensure reliable leadership. At the moment the USSR Gosagroprom and the other organizations are in favor of the "autonomy" of their subdivisions in the MPR. Yet in fact this autonomy results in new circles of the paper roundabout.

What do I suggest? First of all renouncing the replacement of local specialists with casual "strolling players" who in practice have no responsibility for production and often bring confusion and muddle. A more flexible and considered system is needed including, perhaps, Soviet consultants' material interest in the end results of their advice and recommendations.

For my part I can suggest the simplest option for the solution of the question. When a contract is concluded it should specify the specific volume of work for a particular specialist for the period of his working trip and the sum of his wages with a consideration for the quality of the mission performed. If he has scored "average marks" he will receive the minimum, if the commission gives his work "top marks," his pay will be different.

Another thing. During the transition of state farms and agricultural associations to full economic accountability and progressive forms of organizing labor, they have absolutely no need of consultations, but an acute need is appearing for fully empowered specialist technologists whose pay should depend on end results no less than that of other members of the collective. In such a case consultants' independent, stable pay in no way tallies

with the new conditions of economic management. Consequently there is a need to give these people the autonomy and full functions of specialists of the host country, without ruling out that they could be switched to a contract.

Now that our countries have embarked on the path of acceleration and restructuring, the time has come to increase the efficiency of socialist economic integration.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Vietnam Denounces PRC 'Military Provocations'

LD161446 Moscow TASS in English 1352 GMT 16 Mar 88

[Text] Hanoi March 16 TASS—The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Vietnam has issued a statement dealing with an incident that took place in the area of the Truong Sa (Spratly) archipelago. The statement said that in the morning of March 14, this year, two Vietnamese transport vessels making a regular voyage near the Truong Sa islands were fired at by Chinese warships which had illegally penetrated the sea zone of the archipelago. The Vietnamese ships had to retaliate. In this connection the attempts of Chinese officials to accuse Vietnamese boats of a deliberate attack on the warships of the People's Republic of China look absolutely unsound.

Despite protests of the Vietnamese Government and a serious concern of the world public, primarily that of South-East Asian countries, the Chinese side staged another gross provocation aimed at undermining territorial integrity and security of Vietnam. Such actions pose a threat to peace and stability in the region and block the development of a trend towards a dialogue in South-East Asia.

The Vietnamese Government and all the Vietnamese people strongly denounce military provocations of the Chinese side and make it responsible for the possible consequences. Vietnam again reiterates its sovereignty over the islands of the Truong Sa and Hoang Sa (Paracel) archipelagos and demands that Chinese warships leave immediately the sea zone of the Truong Sa archipelago.

Talyzin Delegation Completes Vietnam Visit

Visits Haiphong

LD162115 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 16 Mar 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] TASS—The party and government delegation of the USSR with Comrade Talyzin at its head, which is staying in Vietnam, today visited the city of Haiphong. There was a meeting with the leadership of the party and popular committees of the city, during which the Soviet guests were acquainted with how the workers of Haiphong are fulfilling the decisions of the 6th Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam, directed at stabilizing the socioeconomic situation in the country.

Comrade Talyzin and the persons accompanying him visited a footwear factory which is participating in implementing a program of production coordination in the sphere of light industry between our two countries. They visited one of the biggest sea ports in the north of Vietnam.

Departs for Home

LD170837 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0728 GMT 17 Mar 88

[Text] Hanoi, 17 Mar (TASS)—The USSR party-government delegation headed by N.V. Talyzin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, today left here for home. The delegation had been taking part in the funeral arrangements for the death of Pham Hung, the eminent leader of the Communist Party of Vietnam [CPV] and the Vietnamese state.

The delegation was seen off at the airport by Dong Sy Nguyen, member of the CPV Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers, and other officials.

Near East & South Asia

Pakistan Creates 'New Problems' at Geneva Talks

Wakil News Conference

LD170120 Moscow TASS in English 0115 GMT 17 Mar 88

[Text] Geneva March 16 TASS—Afghan Foreign Minister 'Abdul Wakil, who is leading his country's delegation to talks in Geneva, said today that Pakistan's position there jeopardised the negotiating process and prospects for signing drafted agreements.

Speaking at a news conferenc here, he said that while the Afghan side together with the Soviet Union had demonstrated flexibility and good will and tabled as early as March 3 a proposal making it possible to resolve the issue of a timetable for the Soviet troop withdrawal, which had for many years been exploited by Pakistan as a pretext for rejecting a settlement, the Pakistani side had not taken a single constructive move since the start of the talks.

On the contrary, it was now raising a whole number of issues that had previously not come up at the negotiations, had not been referred to in the prepared documents, and contravened the mission of the U.N. secretary-general's personal envoy, Wakil Said.

Those actions, he continued, were posing obstacles to the signature of the agreements, to the cessation of outside interference in the affairs of Afghanistan, to the planned return home of the limited contingent of Soviet troops, and to peace in Afghanistan and the region as a whole.

The Afghan foreign minister mentioned attempts to include the issue of the border demarcation between Afghanistan and Pakistan—which, he noted, assumed relevance to a third country, namely India, as well—among the artificial impediments thrown up by Pakistan.

He also pointed to continuing demands to form a so-called "transitional government" before the signature of the agreements and to link the cutting off of U.S. aid to armed opposition groups with the ending of traditional Soviet assistance to the Afghan state among those obstacles.

Wakil said that as far as the formation of a broadly-based coalition government was concerned, that was a matter that concerned only the Afghans themselves. The Afghan Government, he added, was taking practical measures in that respect.

It had expressed readiness, he explained, to begin relevant negotiations with all opposition forces at any time, at any level and anywhere.

It had already made contact with the leaders of the internal opposition in Afghanistan. But Afghanistan would never accept a government formed in Pakistan and exported from there, the Afghan foreign minister stressed.

If Pakistan continued acting in that way, he warned, it would lose a historic chance to sign the first political agreement with the neighboring country since the establishment of Pakistan and to restore normal relations with Afghanistan, as well as an opportunity for cooperation in the region that would meet the aspirations of all nations and help improve the international climate.

"It has to be stated very frankly that the more the Pakistanis postpone the signing of the agreements, the later the return home of the Soviet troops will begin," the Afghan foreign minister said.

"History will never forgive those who stand against the cause of ensuring peace," he added.

Wakil said the Afghan delegation believed that the signature of the agreements would not only make it possible to begin the withdrawal of the limited contingent of Soviet troops, but would also contribute to peace and security in the region and the process for national accord in Afghanistan.

He said also that since the start of the Geneva talks the Pakistani delegation had been saying all the time it was waiting for instructions from Islamabad and the same thing had happened day after day.

The Afghan foreign minister asked how much time the Pakistanis needed to make a decision. The impression was, he said, that Pakistan was deliberately engineering new problems outside the agenda of the Geneva negotiations in order to prevent the signing of the agreements.

Desires 'Control' of Afghanistan

PM171134 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Mar 88 Second Edition pp 1, 5

[Special correspondent V. Bolshakov report: "Geneva: Agreement Ahead?"]

[Text] Snow is still lying in the hills around Geneva. In the city, the day now begins with the ceremonial moment of opening the window in the Geneva City Hall, from which the mayor looks at the chestnut tree that grows out of the old fortress wall. As soon as he detects that the buds on the chestnut tree have burst, the official onset of spring in the Canton of Geneva will be announced. So far, spring has begun only according to the calendar. Geneva is watched like that chestnut tree by people in various capitals in expectation of the results of the complex Afghan-Pakistani talks, which have been under way here for some years now. The talks have their own calendar. In accordance with that calendar, everyone was expecting that any day now the "onset of spring" would be announced at the latest round of these talks, which resumed in Geneva 2 March through the mediation of the UN secretary general's personal representative D. Cordovez.

They were expecting it because the new initiatives put forward by the USSR and the Republic of Afghanistan opened up a direct path to the signing of the agreements on the Afghan problem that make up the "Geneva package." And if these agreements had been signed in Geneva on 15 March, then exactly 60 days later they would have come into force, which meant that on 15 May, as M.S. Gorbachev announced on 8 February of this year, the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan would have begun.

Geneva's Palais des Nations. A limousine with the Pakistani flag draws up, delivering Z. Noorani, Pakistani minister of state for foreign affairs, to the talks. Soon after, DRA [as published] Foreign Minister 'Abdul Wakil enters the palace. According to the established ritual, they go to different rooms. Diego Cordovez talks with each delegation separately, going from room to room. Now—and this is to his credit—at least they assemble under the same roof. But in 1982, when these talks had just begun, and for a long time afterwards, the Pakistani side refused not only to sit at the same table, but even to be in the same building at the same time.

From the morning of 15 March, various rumors were circulating. Press conferences were even planned for the heads of the Afghan and Pakistani delegations. By noon they were cancelled. Not until 1300 hours did D. Cordovez come down to the rotunda of the Palais des

Nations press gallery, where dozens of journalists and television cameramen had gathered. He announced that the talks will continue and that 15 March is only a target date, not the date of expiration of an ultimatum. He also noted that both sides at the talks want the agreements to be signed and will strive for this.

The United States and Pakistan have big stakes on the Afghan card. Apart from purely strategic stakes, there are financial ones too. Many billions of dollars have been invested in equipping and mobilizing the rebels, training them, creating an infrastructure for a cross-border and international system of supply, and providing all-around support for them—from propaganda to diplomatic support. Many political careers and reputations, and not only in the United States, hinge on support for the group of rebel leaders operating from Pakistan—the "Peshawar Seven." Bringing them to power in Kabul, putting an end to the PDPA and the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan and the political forces that support it—this is practically a matter of personal prestige for some people in the West, in Iran, and in Pakistan.

The Soviet Union's positions are clear and specific, and were expressed in M.S. Gorbachev's 8 February Statement. It was announced in Geneva on 3 March that the USSR is prepared to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan in not 10, but 9 months from the entry into force of the Geneva agreements. We want to do this. The Afghans should manage their own affairs. But without interference from anyone outside.

Was Cordovez in too much of a hurry when he announced on Friday, 4 March, that "the four parts of the agreement are virtually drafted"? Let us try to get to the bottom of this. Let us begin at the beginning. What agreement are we talking about? No journalist has yet succeeded in studying it. It is kept in the strictest secrecy. But it is known that the Afghan-Pakistani agreement provides for accords on four aspects: noninterference in each other's internal affairs, the return of Afghan refugees from Pakistan, international guarantees of noninterference in Afghanistan's internal affairs, and the interlinked nature of all the components of a political settlement. That is the "Geneva package," the subject of the talks through the mediation of Cordovez.

To clarify the list of dramatis personae here, let me remind you that currently working in Geneva there is a group of Soviet representatives to the Afghan-Pakistani talks headed by special ambassador N. Kozyrev and a group of American representatives headed by R. Peck, U.S. deputy assistant secretary of state. The USSR and the United States are not taking part directly in the talks, but their guarantees are important for a resolution of the Afghan problem.

As the target date for signing the agreements, 15 March, approached, the United States and Pakistan became increasingly aware that their scenario, whereby "the government in Kabul will fall 24 hours after the withdrawal of Soviet troops," will hardly work. The line of national reconciliation and the creation of a coalition government, as Minister 'Abdul Wakil said in Geneva the other day, is not a tactical move by the government of the Republic of Afghanistan, but a strategic course aimed at restoring peace and tranquillity in the country. And this course finds understanding even in the camp of the armed opposition. There are increasingly frequent instances of their ceasing the armed struggle, although they do not always openly take the side of the government in Kabul.

The opposition forces have themselves quarreled. The well-informed newspaper JOURNAL DE GENEVE said in a recent issue that the "Peshawar Seven" had almost split up. Pakistan, however, protects the "Seven" and is preparing them as a future "transitional and neutral," but in reality pro-Pakistani and pro-American, government of Afghanistan. What lies behind this is clearly the desire to gain control of the neighboring country. That is evidently why Z. Noorani, after flying to Islamabad 5 and 6 March, set about defending with new vigor the idea that an accord enshrining the proposition on creating a transitional government should be inserted in some form or other into the "Geneva package," although this does not fall within the scope of the talks.

"Pakistan blocked the talks by putting forward its demand for the creation of such a government," the JOURNAL DE GENEVE concludes, "and the Pakistani Government has thereby placed itself in the dock, where it remains in isolation."

Is only Pakistan hampering the signing of the agreements? If Z. Noorani now insists on the formation of a transitional government, the Americans in Geneva merely express "sympathy with this idea," but at the same time insist on the immediate ending of the USSR's military aid to the government of the Republic of Afghanistan after the withdrawal of Soviet troops and after the ending of U.S. aid to the present Afghan opposition. Soviet representative N. Kozyrev stated frankly in response that the question of this aid is not covered by the Geneva talks and that in any case this formulation of the question constitutes direct interference in Soviet-Afghan bilateral relations. What if, for instance, the Soviet Union demanded an end to U.S. military aid to Pakistan as a preliminary condition for the success of the Geneva talks on Afghanistan? After all, American weapons arrive in Afghanistan via the Pakistani military.

An American journalist of my acquaintance told me:

"It may seem absurd to you, but I am sure our 'hawks' don't really want you to withdraw your troops from Afghanistan..."

"Meaning?"

"There is some logic to that way of thinking. The longer you stay in Afghanistan, the more chance we have to sling mud at you."

Let us hope that this is only the distorted logic of the American "hawks," and that common sense will prevail and conquer in the Geneva dialogue on Afghanistan. But meanwhile the target date, 15 March, has passed without concrete results. The talks are clearly being dragged out. The responsibility for this now rests exclusively with Pakistan and the United States, as all sober analysts in Geneva admit.

Spring has not yet come in Geneva. The buds have not yet burst on the chestnut tree growing on the fortress wall....

Claims 'No Instructions'

LD161645 Moscow TASS in English 1602 GMT 16 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 16 TASS—Follows commentary by TASS news analyst Valeriy Vavilov:

All peace-loving people of the world were looking forward to the day of March 15, hoping for success. On that day the Pakistani and Afghan delegations were to sign Geneva accords that would open the way to putting an end to the eight-year fratricidal war in Afghanistan, to a peaceful political settlement of one of the most painful regional conflicts. That day came, but alas no agreement has been signed.

Why? Who again hampers a settlement of the conflict?

The Afghan delegation arrived in Geneva determined to sign the Geneva papers, which have already been prepared, to usher in the practical implementation of the agreements reached. Wishing to reach concord and wind up the talks as soon as possible, the Afghan side, which acts in agreement with the Soviet Union, displayed maximum flexibility and constructive approach by proposing to expedite the process of the return of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan, by limiting it to nine months and envisaging the return home of 50 per cent of the Soviet military contingent over the first three months.

Under the agreements already reached, the Soviet troops will start returning home from Afghanistan exactly two months after the signing of the agreement. Thus the "last obstacle" has been completely removed since it is precisely the term for the withdrawal of troops and its duration which were for a long time described as the "main obstacle" in the way of a political settlement.

But what about the Pakistani delegation? Unfortunately, over the two weeks of the talks it did not display a sincere wish for reaching agreement. Actually the Pakistani side has not made any constructive proposals, has not displayed the wish to look into the things, to clarify the vague points. On the contrary, the tendency manifested itself of protracting the talks, of putting forward far-fatched new "terms". The situation did not change even after, at the request of the Pakistani delegation, a break of several days was twice announced at the talks. After resuming the talks, the Pakistani representative, Minister of state for foreign affairs Zain Noorani cannot explicitly say what is after all the aim of Islamabad. He muddled up in every way possible absolutely clear questions, departed from the decisions already agreed upon, piled up absurd "terms", and then again said that he "had no instructions on signing the Geneva documents".

One of such "terms" is the "second way" of settlement, which Islamabad sees in forming a new coalition government described by it as an "interim" one. Islamabad is trying to dictate what sort of government it would like to see in Kabul—a government of its placemen. Trying to "link" the signing of the Geneva accords with the forming of the so-called "interim government", Islamabad is thus trying to interfere in purely internal matters of the neighbour country. Since it is absolutely obvious that the question of the composition of the new government is a prerogative of the Afghan people, and only the Afghan people, without interference from the outside, whether it be Islamabad, Washington or Moscow, will themselves resolve the problem of their government.

As far as the return of Soviet troops home is concerned, it, as has been stipulated, will start exactly 60 days after Washington and Islamabad put their signatures under the agreements. It goes without saying that every protraction with the signing of the agreements, whatever pretexts may be invented for it, puts off automatically also the date of the start of withdrawal of the Soviet troops. That is precisely how the situation is interpreted both in the statement by the Soviet Government and the statement by the Government of Afghanistan on that issue.

Isn't it high time for Islamabad to display a sense of realism and responsibility? Since every day a continuation of war brings about fresh casualties, fresh destructions and aggravates the position of the long-suffering Afghan people, is a heavy burden also on the Pakistani people.

Isn't it high time to throw away all gimmicks, all far-fatched "terms", all the claims of those who have a stake in continuing the war and put an end to the conflict by signing an agreement.

'Evading' Resolution of Talks

LD170127 Moscow TASS in English 0123 GMT 17 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 16 TASS—By a TASS diplomatic correspondent:

March 15, 1988 could have become an historic date, the day of the start of settling one of the gravest and most painful regional conflicts, the military conflict in Afghanistan.

It could have become one, but it did not.

The situation that developed at the latest round of Afghan-Pakistani talks started in Geneva on March 2 gave grounds to believe that this round would be the final one, and that documents would be signed, as envisaged, on March 15.

Indeed, the sides agreed in the first days of negotiations that the withdrawal of Soviet troops would take nine months, while half of them would be pulled out within the first three months.

The statements by Mikhail Gorbachev and Afghan President Najibullah gave the specific date for the start of the withdrawal—May 15, provided that the Geneva documents were signed not later than March 15.

There had seemed to be no more obstacles to the signing of the documents, the more so for their drafting was nearly over before the resumption of the talks. Only the question of the timetable for the withdrawal of Soviet troops remained. But the documents have not been signed.

What has happened? Why is the long-awaited settlement being delayed indefinitely?

The matter is that the Pakistani side goes back upon the decisions agreed upon earlier. It persists in its attempt to link the signing of the Geneva accords with the establishment of a new Afghan "interim" government.

It is perfectly clear that national reconciliation and the creation of a coalition government are purely domestic Afghan issues. They can be resolved only by the Afghans themselves. The bids to use the Geneva talks for exerting pressure on Kabul are illegitimate, to put it in mild terms.

Both the Pakistani and the American sides put forward a number of other proposals that have no relation whatsoever to the Geneva accords and represent an attempt to dictate to the Soviet Union and Afghanistan how they should build their bilateral relations.

While making unjustified demands and thus dragging the Geneva negotiations, the Pakistani and American sides assert that they would like the Soviet Union to start withdrawing troops precisely on May 15. It is absolutely clear, however, and that was emphasised in the Soviet Government's statement, out on Tuesday, that if the date of the signing of the accords is put off, the start of the troop withdrawal will be postponed as well.

By evading signing the accords, Pakistan and the United States, whose signature should also be put to some documents, assume responsibility for the destiny of the negotiations. The Afghan people and other nations are looking forward to the successful outcome of the talks.

Bringing to an end the cause of political settlement in Afghanistan would become an important breakthrough in coping with regional conflicts.

Like the agreement on the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles that precipitates further steps in the field of disarmament, political settlement in Afghanistan would raise the question: what conflict would be resolved next?

Two Afghan Rebel Groups Go to People's Power

LD161052 Moscow TASS in English 1035 GMT 16 Mar 88

[Text] Kabul March 16 TASS—In the course of the recent few days, the BAKHTAR agency said, two armed opposition groups have gone over to the side of people's power in Qandahar and Fariab Provinces. Tribal detachments have been formed of them to ensure security in the areas of their residence.

More than 200 Afghans have returned in the provinces Herat, Nangarhar and Farah from Pakistan and Iran. They spoke about the miserable conditions in which they had to live far from their homeland. We have learnt in real fact whence the threat to Islam, said former refugee 'Abdul Samad. The chiefs of the armed units were forced to go to the land of their ancestors arms in hand and kill their brothers Afghans. At the same time they themselves do not go to Afghanistan, but save up money and spend their time in drinking bouts".

Since the start of implementation of the national reconciliation policy the members of the local councils of the National Front have collected and transferred 16 million afghanis to the funds of their compatriots returning from abroad. As a result of their activities 204 villages have been announced peace zones.

Biography of New Envoy to Afghanistan

LD162329 Moscow TASS in English 2312 GMT 16 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 16 TASS—The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet has appointed Nikolay Yegorychev ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Republic of Afghanistan.

Yegorychev was born in Moscow in 1920, he has higher education. He was a party functionary since 1950, in 1962-1967 he held the post of first secretary of the Moscow City Committee of the CPSU.

In 1967-1970, Yegorychev served as deputy minister of tractor and farming machine-making, in 1970-1984 he was ambassador in Denmark, in 1984-1987, deputy minister of machine-making for live-stock breeding and fodder production, in 1987-1988, first deputy chairman of the presidium of the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

Pavel Mozhayev has been relieved of the duties of ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Afghanistan in connection with transfer to another job.

Syria's Al-Shar' Arrives in Moscow

JN170946 Damascus Domestic Service in Arabic 0915 GMT 17 Mar 88

[Text] Foreign Minister Faruq al-Shar' arrived in Moscow last night to participate in the activities of the Arab League Council's seven-member committee in support of the Arab citizens' uprising in the occupied territories. He was received at the airport by Yuliy Vorontsov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs, heads of Arab diplomatic missions in Moscow, and Syrian Charge d'Affairs Ussef Juma and the embassy staff.

Polyakov Meets PLO's 'Arafat in Tunis

LD162153 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2050 GMT 16 Mar 88

[Text] Tunis, 16 Mar (TASS)—Today a meeting was held here between V.P. Polyakov, Collegium member and chief of the Near Eastern Countries' Department of the USSR Foreign Ministry, and Y. 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee.

V.P. Polyakov assured the Palestinian leader of the Soviet Union's solidarity with the struggle of the Palestinian people against the Israeli occupation of the West Bank of the River Jordan and the Gaza Strip, and for the protection of their inalienable rights, first and foremost the right to self-determination. He informed Y. 'Arafat in detail of the actions by the Soviet side to attain a comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict and convene with that goal an international conference on the Near East with the participation of all interested sides, including the PLO, and the five permament members of the UN Security Council. It was stressed that political efforts will only be successful if they are built on a reasonable balance of the interests of all sides involved in the conflict. First and foremost, this concerns such fundamental aspects of a settlement as the withdrawal of Israeli troops from Arab territories seized in 1967 and a just settlement of the Palestinian problem.

Y. 'Arafat expressed the sincere gratitude of the Palestinian people for the assistance and support being given to it by the Soviet Union, in the struggle to resist Israeli annexation plans and to implement the national aspirations of the Palestinians. He stated that the PLO leadership, following the logic of new political thinking, sees the need for a political solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict built on the mutual consideration of interests, on the principles of equality, and equal security. The way to such a solution lies in the convening of the international conference being proposed by the Soviet Union.

The sides stressed the need to continue the practice that has developed of exchanging views between the USSR and the PLO as an important factor for the successful movement toward unblocking the conflict in the Near East.

V.F. Sobchenko, USSR ambassador in Tunis, took part in the conversation.

Libya's Jabir Receives Soviet [illegible] Commander

LD171243 Moscow TASS in Engl[illegible] 15 GMT 17 Mar 88

[Text] Tripoli March 17 TASS—Colonel Abu Bakr Jabir, member of the revolutionary leadership and commander-in-chief of the Armed Forces of the Libyan Jamahiriyah, has received the commander-in-chief of the Navy and deputy defence minister of the USSR, Admiral of the Fleet Vladimir Chernavin, on an official visit here.

Yazkuliyev Makes Statement on Leaving Libya

PM161449 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Visit Ends"]

[Text] Tripoli, 9 Mar—The Soviet delegation headed by B. Yazkuliyev, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, which took part in ceremonies marking the 11th anniversary of the establishment of people's power in Libya, left Tripoli yesterday.

The delegation head made the following statement at the Libyan capital's international airport:

Here in Libya we have held interesting meetings and conversations with the leaders of your country and representatives of the Libyan General People's Congress. A thorough exchange of opinions took place on questions of bilateral relations and topical problems of international relations. Our conversations confirmed the sides' sincere desire to further develop and strengthen Soviet-Libyan ties. Furthermore, we learned about Libyan history and the achievements of the people of the Libyan Jamahiriyah in the years since the victory of the revolution on 1 September 1969.

The delegation head thanked the Libyan General People's Congress Secretariat for inviting the Soviet delegation to visit Libya and the warm, cordial welcome given it. He wished the friendly Libyan people further successes in building a new life, happiness, well-being, and prosperity.

The Soviet delegation was seen off by 'Imran Hammudah, deputy secretary of the Libyan General People's Committee People's Bureau for Foreign Liaison. The send-off party included P.S. Akopov, USSR ambassador to Libya.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Relations With Central African Republic Restored

LD171032 Moscow TASS in English 1015 GMT 17 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 17 TASS—Guided by the common desire to develop relations of friendship and cooperation, the Governments of the USSR and the Central African Republic have decided to restore diplomatic relations between the two countries, the two governments said in a joint communique issued here today.

RSA Ignores Angolan 'Peace Initiatives'

PM171031 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Article by F. Konopikhin: "Relying on the Iron Fist; Who Is Impeding a Political Settlement to the Conflict in Southern Africa"]

[Text] White soldiers of the South African Army continue to die in battles on Angolan territory. The South African authorities were forced to report this officially. Thus, they practically admitted that RSA troops, as before, are on Angolan territory. Moreover, the bombing of the environs of the Angolan cities Ondjiva and Lubango 20 and 25 February testifies that the scale of aggression by the racist state against Angola is not only not decreasing, but is increasing.

Pretoria seems to be ignoring Angola's initiatives directed at a just settlement to the southern African problems. Whereas Luanda, despite the racists' aggression, is not closing the door leading to talks. During the last series of Angolan-U.S. talks, Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos announced to Chester Crocker, assistant secretary for African affairs, a principled agreement on the withdrawal from Angolan territory of units of Cuban forces who had come at the invitation of the Angolan leadership to ensure the country's defense. "We told the Americans, and when I say we, I mean Angola and Cuba, that we are ready to discuss the timeframe for withdrawing all Cuban forces," Angolan President Dos Santos indicated in an interview with French journalists, "if the United States, the RSA, and other countries stop supporting the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA], inasmuch as we believe that the other problems have been virtually solved. In other words, there is an understanding on the question of fulfilling UN Security Council Resolution 435." According to him, it is essential to resolve beforehand the problem of occupation of parts of Angolan territory by RSA forces. Pretoria must cease military intervention against Angola and immediately withdraw its troops from there.

The Angolan leadership once again demonstrated the desire for a diplomatic settlement of the conflict during the recent visit to Luanda by UN General Secretary Perez de Cuellar. Asking the eminent guest to get the RSA to fulfill the UN Security Council resolution on the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of South African forces from Angolan territory, Dos Santos assured him that the Angolan Government is willing to undertake new practical steps to reach peace in Southern Africa. In particular, he expressed willingness to take part in a peaceful dialogue with the RSA Government after the South African troops cease their combat operations. This position met with the understanding of the UN general secretary, who "paid tribute to the Angolan authorities for their courageous and their magnanimous decision."

Luanda's peaceful initiatives provide a broad opportunity for fulfilling one of the main tasks facing the OAU—the liberation of Namibia—inasmuch as they are assisting in resolving the problems of "linking" the question of its decolonization with the request put forward by Pretoria and Washington to withdraw Cuban forces from Angola. It is not without reason that Perez de Cuellar expressed the opinion that, despite the RSA's uncompromising position, the opportunity exists for achieving Namibia's independence in the near future by diplomatic means. In this connection the UN general secretary did not exclude the possibility of stationing UN forces in southern Angola in the zone bordering on Namibia, but stressed the significant difficulties connected with the practical implementation of such an action.

On the other hand, recent events have shown that the problem of "linkage" is being put forward by the racist regime rather as a pretext for drawing out the conflict. Pretoria is continuing its combat operations in Angola, sending to the Republic's territory 8 regular army battalions numbering 9,000 men. In addition, the RSA has concentrated in the north of Namibia on the border with Angola 3 brigades, 13 individual battalions, more than 80 aircraft, and other equipment which could be transferred across the border. The apartheid regime obviously does not intend to give up its long-standing plans to create in southern Angola a puppet state led by Savimbi, leader of the UNITA antigovernment grouping. According to the racists' designs, it could be added to the "constellation" of puppet states knocked together by the RSA, which would include the homelands which have and are being created, and could also serve as a kind of buffer between free Africa and occupied Namibia.

Naturally, the African states are rejecting attempts to perpetuate Namibian occupation. At the recently ended 47th session of the OAU Council of Ministers in Addis Ababa, its participants, noting that the RSA racist regime is stepping up the repressions against the country's African population and is attempting to destabilize the position in the "Frontline" States, stated the necessity of expanding comprehensive support for national liberation movements in South Africa and Namibia and demanded the immediate introduction of compulsory and all-embracing economic sanctions against the racist regime in Pretoria.

The reliance of the apartheid regime on the continuing occupation of Namibia and armed aggression against the "frontline" states only tightens the knot of contradictions in southern Africa and prevents a just political settlement to the region's problems. In this regard, Luanda's peaceful initiatives accord with the interests of the entire region, assist the lessening of tension and increase stability in this world trouble spot.

East Europe

Further on Gorbachev Visit to Yugoslavia

Krunic Talks Described

PM161651 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Mar 88 First Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Continuation of Soviet-Yugoslav Talks"]

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Mar—Talks between M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, and Yugoslav leaders continued on Tuesday [15 March] at the LCY Central Committee.

Addressing M.S. Gorbachev, B. Krunic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, said that Yugoslavia's Communists and all its working people are following with keen attention the historic turn in the life of the Land of the Soviets and the USSR's peace-loving initiatives in the international arena.

We wish the fraternal Soviet people success in the restructuring which will make it possible to most fully reveal the creative capability and the material and spiritual potential of society. This would be tremendously important for the growth of socialism's prestige and attractiveness.

Having expressed thanks for the warm words and the hospitable reception on Yugoslav soil, M.S. Gorbachev said that the talks with the Yugoslav comrades confirm the mutual desire to develop all-around cooperation and take it to a new and higher level. Our relations, he continued, have gone through serious trials in the past. We have learned lessons from them and have formulated principles on whose basis Soviet-Yugoslav cooperation have strengthened and acquired new qualities. The declaration we have agreed on will enable us to act on a larger scale.

It was noted that, despite the difference in scales, national peculiarities, and specific conditions, the USSR and the SFRY are solving what are on the whole similar tasks. One of the key tasks is the range of questions connected with the functioning of the political system. We are not, of course, talking about replacing existing institutions. The point is to give them a second wind, as it were, to boost the role and influence of the soviets, which are the broadest mass sociopolitical organization. It is hard to imagine finally overcoming bureaucracy and galvanizing social life and social processes without restructuring their activity. This sphere is most directly linked with the elevation [vozvysheniye] of the human factor.

Much in this sphere depends on the party, the formulation of a political line and theoretical elaborations, and the creation of a firm legal basis.

The interpretation of the party's functions and the renewal of its methods of work are highly important at the present stage of socialism's development. M.S. Gorbachev placed special emphasis on the abiding importance of Lenin's perception of the party as political vanguard, as a factor rallying all strata of working people, all nations and ethnic groups in our countries.

Life makes new demands of interparty cooperation. Having noted the dynamism and the regular dialogue at the political level, the CPSU Central Committee general secretary said that the time has come to think about how to make all this even more purposeful, meaningful, and mutually enriching. We are interested in a broad dialogue so that it may have a lively and businesslike rather than a ritual nature, M.S. Gorbachev stressed. It is necessary to be bolder in leading matters toward the expansion of cooperation along the line of party scientific institutions, in tackling the elaboration of theoretical problems, and in jointly summing up experience.

The Yugoslav leader agreed with the assessment of the state of and the prospects for the further development of cooperation between the CPSU and the LCY. The readiness was confirmed to continue to further develop interparty ties on the stable basis and principles enshrined in the joint documents and the agreed Soviet-Yugoslav declaration. The importance of dialogue was stressed, including dialogue on such acute questions of international politics as North-South relations and the problem of the developing countries' debt and their technological dependence.

Developing this theme, M.S. Gorbachev for his part noted that the socialist countries are faced with the crucial need to pool their efforts in the interests of a technological breakthrough, of ridding themselves of the so-called "import plague," and of attaining leading positions in science and technology.

B. Krunic described in detail the complex problems which currently confront Yugoslav society and which it is trying to resolve. He noted that the acute nature of these problems does not call into question the main highway of the development of socialist self-management. He briefed the Soviet leader on the questions which will be submitted for discussion at the LCY conference. A lively dialogue, imbued with mutual understanding, took place on questions of the correlation between centralism and decentralization. The importance was noted of carrying out an in-depth, joint analysis of the problems which are arising in this sphere.

A considerable part of the conversation was devoted to an exchange of views on questions of the cooperation of all peace-loving forces. It was noted that the Moscow meeting of representatives of parties and movements marked a radical breakthrough in this respect. Both the Soviet and the Yugoslav leaders noted that the meeting had confirmed the strengthening desire of progressive forces for joint action on key problems of the present time, above all the struggle against the arms race and the danger of war and for the survival of mankind. At the same time it was noted that this process is not developing smoothly, that the new realities of our age require profound interpretation and that understanding must be gained of the priority of universal human interests.

Both sides expressed satisfaction with the real party atmosphere of frankness and openness which characterized the talks. M.S. Gorbachev and B. Krunic reaffirmed their readiness to intensify free dialogue and to provide broad scope for exchanges of experience on various questions of socialist building.

The talks were attended on the Soviet side by V.A. Medvedev, CPSU Central Committee secretary; I.S. Silayev, CPSU Central Committee member, and other officials; and on the Yugoslav side by LCY Central Committee Presidium members M. Orlandic, M. Renovica, V. Tupurkovski, and S. Stojanovic, LCY Central Committee Presidium executive secretary, and other officials.

Meets Gracanin, Milosevic

PM171125 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Mar 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report under general heading "On the Basis of Complete Equality, Independence, and Mutual Respect"]

[Text] A meeting has taken place between M.S. Gorbachev and the leadership of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. The meeting was attended by P. Gracanin, president of the Presidency of the republic, and S. Milosevic, president of the League of Communists of Serbia Central Committee Presidium.

The Soviet leader was briefed on the tasks of the republic's socioeconomic development and the implementation of the decisions of the 10th Congress of the League of Communists of Serbia.

The CPSU Central Committee general secretary gave an account of the progress of restructuring in various spheres of Soviet society and noted that additional opportunities are being created for the development of direct contacts between Soviet republics, krays, oblasts, and cities and socialist Yugoslavia.

Both sides expressed satisfaction with the progressive development of Soviet-Yugoslav relations as a whole and the deepening of multifaceted ties between the RSFSR and Serbia.

The Presidency of the republic and the League of Communists of Serbia Central Committee Presidium gave a dinner in honor of the CPSU Central Committee general secretary.

S. Milosevic and M.S. Gorbachev exchanged toasts.

We are following everything that has been happening in the Soviet Union in recent years with great attention, immense interest, and sincere support, S. Milosevic said. We believe the changes, which are of historic significance, will promote a rapid development of your country and will make a contribution to the development of the ideas and practice of socialism as a whole. Socialism is the progressive society of our age. It is obvious today that it represents the future of mankind, not only because this is in keeping with the prognosis of scientific socialism made by Marx, Engels, and their followers, above all by Lenin, but also because socialism is the embodiment of the progressive forces in the present-day world.

M.S. Gorbachev expressed thanks for the kind words addressed to the Soviet Union and to the Soviet people.

The warm and cordial reception accorded to us yesterday in the supreme organ of state power and self-management—the SFRY Federal Assembly—has greatly impressed me. This reaffirms that the vanguard forces in Yugoslav society favor the further all-around development of relations between our parties and countries on the firm basis of jointly defined principles.

There is no need to repeat that the Soviet party and state leadership have similar intentions.

I will say frankly, M.S. Gorbachev continued, that the kind feelings shown us during our visit to the Ivo Lola Ribar plant and during our meetings and conversations with working people and the inhabitants of Belgrade are no less important to us. I have reason to say that we, just like you, are expressing the will of our peoples in seeking mutual rapprochement, expanded cooperation, and strengthened Soviet-Yugoslav friendship.

Long-standing, good, historical traditions link the Russians and the Serbs. Russia's best representatives always viewed the southern Slavs' liberation struggle with profound sympathy and came to their assistance at crucial points in their dramatic destiny. Hundreds of Russian officers fought in the Serbian army, and the names of General Chernyayev and Colonel Rayevskiy are immortalized in Belgrade.

Or take another vivid example—this time from the history of our spiritual culture. Our Pushkin translated the famous songs of the southern Slavs collected by Vuk Karadzic.

I think you will agree that enshrined in the heart of every Russian and Serb, in their genetic memory, so to speak, is mutual benevolence and a gravitation toward friendship.

Returning to our current concerns, I would like to share the following thought with you. In addition to the development of Soviet-Yugoslav interstate relations as a whole, we are establishing ties at the level of republics. In the course of our talks with the LCY and the SFRY leaderships only positive attitudes toward this additional channel of cooperation were expressed on both sides.

The RSFSR and Serbia have probably advanced furthest in this respect, but the potential is far from exhausted. Now that we have decentralized the sphere of foreign economic ties and removed practically all the obstacles to the establishment of direct contacts between our enterprises and their partners in fraternal countries, it will undoubtedly be possible to implement many new projects to the mutual benefit of both our countries. It will be a good thing if the Serbs and the Russians set a good example in this respect to our other republics.

In conclusion M.S. Gorbachev wished Serbia's party and state leadership further success in the all-around development of the republic and its augmented contribution to the common socialist cause of the peoples of Yugoslavia.

Receives Belgrade Plaque

LD162355 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 16 Mar 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Unidentified correspondent] After his speech [to the Belgrade Municipal Assembly], Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev chatted in the corridors with the Federal Assembly delegates, looked around the building and at the memorial plaque in honor of the first conference of nonaligned countries.

After that there was a meeting with Belgrade. [video shows Gorbachev descending the steps of the Federal Assembly building]

The Yugoslav capital welcomed Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev with a cloudless sky, a bright sun, smiles, toasts in honor of our country and the Soviet people. [video shows Gorbachev and wife walking toward crowd]

[Gorbachev, in middle of crowd speaking in Russian with interpreter giving simultaneous translation] Thank you for the meeting, for the feelings that we can see from your eyes, your mood. Thank you! Thank you! We understand these are feelings that are not fake. They are of long standing. You should know that we also have such feelings. [words indistinct] This is the most important thing that you should know.

The visit is going well. We have discussed a great many things and we have agreed to do a great many things so that our relations, our friendship, will grow stronger. Just now I spoke in the Federal Assembly. There was a good meeting. We will go together [word indistinct] I wish you well. Thank you for the meeting. Convey to all your-....[words indistinct]

[Gorbachev, at another location, interpreter translating into vernacular] Thank you for the meeting! Thank you. I wish to tell you that we are having a good visit, very important talks. Everything will be well! [video cuts to footage of Gorbachev and wife walking through streets]

[Correspondent] Today Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev met with a delegation of Belgrade. The delegation was headed by Aleksandar Bakocevic, president of the Belgrade Municipal Assembly and Rados Smiljanic, president of the LCY City Committee. [video shows Gorbachev entering room] On behalf of the populace of the Yugoslav capital they cordially greeted the Soviet leader. Aleksandar Bakocevic presented Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev with the Gold Memorial Medal of the City of Belgrade.

[Bakocevic, in vernacular with superimposed Russian translation] On behalf of the inhabitants of Belgrade and the Municipal Assembly of the City of Belgrade, I present our greatest award that Belgrade presents to the most outstanding personalities, having great merits for progress in the world, for the development of relations of cooperation and mutual understanding, and to the all-around development, bilateral relations (?in this case) between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. Thank you very much.

[Gorbachev] First of all, I wish to express my profound gratitude to the authorities of the capital of Yugoslavia for this very significant gesture, the presentation by you of this commemorative medal of Belgrade. I thank you. In your person I thank the populace of Belgrade. When we think of Belgrade we link it first of all with the fact that this city has indeed, as you said, a great and tempestuous history. But it seems to me that the most important thing is that we perceive Belgrade as a symbol of the indomitable desire, of the striving of people for freedom, as a symbol of the struggle for human dignity, for independence, for free development. That is why I receive this gold medal, memorial medal, which you are presenting me with during this visit, with great emotion.

I was told that during its history Belgrade has been destroyed more than 40 times by invaders and each time again by the people's efforts was brought back to life and restored by their hands. This is what also happened the last time after the victory over fascism. Today's contemporary Belgrade is indeed a modern city, but at the same time it is

a town in which the traditions of history are very strongly present. I think all Soviet comrades who are present here, listened with great emotion and gratitude to what you said: So many places connected with our friendship, both between the Russian people and the Yugoslavian people and between the Soviet people and the people of Socialist Yugoslavia. We very much value this.

For Soviet people it has always been a constant. Nothing has every shaken the friendship between our peoples, even in the difficult times we went through. You can rest assured that this will continue to be the case. I hope that the friendship between the working people of our capitals, of Moscow and Belgrade, which already has a great tradition will continue to successfully develop and grow stronger.

I take this opportunity to wish that your city may flourish, and to wish well-being and happiness to the populace of Belgrade. Thank you! [applause]

[Correspondent] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev presented the capital of Yugoslavia with a gift, a souvenir symbolizing the friendship between our parties and peoples, between Moscow and Belgrade, which is growing stronger.

Gorbachev Address to SFRY Assembly

PM171141 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Mar 88 Second Edition pp 1,2

[TASS report under the general heading "On the Basis of Full Equality, Independence, and Mutual Respect" under the subhead "Speech by M.S. Gorbachev"]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Rozic.

Esteemed delegates to the Federal Assembly.

I am sincerely grateful for the invitation to visit the supreme agency of state authority and self-government of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and address its people's elected representatives.

I would like first of all to convey heartfelt greetings to you, all working people and all citizens of your country from the Soviet people.

Availing myself of this opportunity to thank you warmly for the hospitality accorded us during these days. [sentence as published] I am deeply moved by the warmth and cordiality of the meetings and the sincere expression of feelings of friendship for the Soviet people. I can assure you that Soviet people have the same feelings for the peoples of Yugoslavia.

On days like this it is appropriate to recall many remarkable pages in the history of relations between our countries. It is on more than one occasion that Russian troops and volunteers have come to the aid of Yugoslavs fighting for their freedom. Can one forget about the thousands upon thousands of Yugoslav internationalists who defended the great cause of the October Revolution side by side with the workers and peasants of revolutionary Russia?

The events of the past war have become for ever engraved on the memory of our peoples.

When Hitler's hordes intruded into Soviet territory, when our army and people absorbed the blow of an enormous war-making machine drawing on the manpower and industrial resources of almost the entire continent and when many European countries crushed by the Nazi heel and shaken by the outrage committed upon them were only het breeding anger and hatred for the enslavers, in Yugoslavia's mountains and plains struggle against the invaders was already mounting at the call of the Communists and under their guidance and developed into a popular war.

The defenders of my fatherland were supported and warmed by the awareness that they were not alone, that in the south of Europe, thousands of kilometers from the Soviet-German front, our Yugoslav brothers were fighting as well. Conversely, news from the gigantic, unprecedented battle raging across thousands of kilometers from the White Sea to the Black Sea, a battle whose outcome has, without any exaggeration, determined the destiny of Europe, and perhaps that of all human civilization as well, for decades ahead, was, of course, of vital significance to the troops of the Popular Liberation Army of Yugoslavia.

Our people and our army held out and, relying on the backing of their allies and the resistance movement of European peoples, which turned into a formidable force, routed fascism. Together with Marshal Tito's troops Soviet liberator soldiers entered jubilant Belgrade in the autumn of 1944.

Let us pay a tribue to the exploit of those people and bow to the memory of those who fell fighting for the freedom, independence, honor and dignity of our peoples.

After fascism was smashed, a new era has begun in human history. It was one of the wonderful periods when peoples had got a possibility as if to arrange their states anew and decide which laws to live by and which principles and morals to follow. It was a time of wrecking and building, with much of what humanity is rightly proud of today as well as many acute outstanding current problems all rooted in it.

It was a time of forming new contacts in the international community and wigning various agreements. The Treaty of Friendship, Mutual Assistance and Post-War Cooperation between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, signed in 1945, came as the logical follow-on to the sworn brotherhood in battle. Unfortuantely the good relations between our countries were soon disrupted, the treaty ruptured. Baseless

charges were made against the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. The resultant conflict inflicted much damage both to Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, and to the cause of socialism.

I found it necessary to speak about this today so as to leave no place to wariness, suspiciousness, mistrust and hurt which, as history shows, so easily originate in relations between peoples and are subsequently overcome with such difficulty.

It is also necessary to stress the significance of the conclusions drawn from the lessons of the past. So as to be able to build relations firmly and unfailingly on the basis of complete equality, independence and mutual respect.

It is only when truthfully and honestly interpreting the past that it is possible to realize and appreciate in full measure what has een done by our two parties to get over the alienation between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia.

Three decades later, we can see the unfading significance of the Soviet-Yugoslav documents of 1955-56.

The principles formulated in them have stood the test of time and formed the dependable political foundation for stable relations between our countries and peoples. They have also evoked a broad international response and made modern political culture. We do justice to the acumen of the leaders who stood at the sources of those documents.

Looking at how Soviet-Yugoslav relations have developed over the years, one can see that from one stage to another, economic cooperation has kept increasing, the scope of political interaction getting broader and cultural contacts between our peoples growing richer in content. Practically every several years the process has been stimulated by summits and the signature of programmatic documents. The last such meeting was the visit of a delegation from the League of Communists of Yugoslavia led by Comrade Renovica in Moscow in December 1986, which is memorable to all.

We view our current visit as a direct follow-up on the good tradition. The talks we've held with Comrades Mojsov, Krunic, and other Yugoslav leaders have shown a mutual desire to elevate our interstate and interparty relations to a new high and lend them a new quality. This has by mutual agreement been sealed in the Soviet-Yugoslav Declaration we have adopted.

Along with practical matters, Yugoslav comrades and we have had a useful exchange of opinions on also the fate and problems of socialism, including those that in the past were the subject of arguments.

We are most satisfied with the fruitful discussion of these questions at the meeting in the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

The socialist system everywhere has common features and first of all these are power of the working people, public ownership and absence of exploitation.

But commonality does not rule out diversity. The strength of socialism is in its being multicolored and in its rich international experience. This is why we set great store in, and regard as a sign of maturity in relations between socialist countries, the organic blend of the independence of every party and state with respect for the mutual interests, views and experience of one another.

As we near the end of the 20th century, world socialism is living, one can say, through a period of reconstruction and reform. We all feel the need to update also the machinery of interaction between socialist nations and making it more efficient. Our common intentions to extend Soviet-Yugoslav cooperation to cover the entire field of social affairs and step up contacts at government, parliament, party and grassroots levels in the areas of science, culture, education, sport, tourism and youth organizations are quite in line with this trend.

It only understandable that both sides expect much from developing economic ties. For more than ten years now the Soviet Union has been Yugoslavia's biggest trading partner. Your country, for its part, is seen in my country as a good, long-term economic partner. So our mutual interest is obvious.

But to maintain the amount and dynamics of trade, we should not only look for extra raw material and commodity resources. The main point is to reorganize the structure of economic relations by broadly developing specialized and cooperative production arrangements on a wide scale, forming direct ties between enterprises, setting up mixed-capital firms and associations, and ensuring joint operations in the markets of third countries.

Both sides are prepared to act in this way. The tasks facing us are challenging, but feasible. It is also plain that the economic reform pursued in my country and the novelties in the economic machinery of Yugoslavia are creating favorable prerequisite conditions for cooperative arrangements.

Comrades, we know that the communists and working people of Yugoslavia are demonstrating a lively interest in what is happening in the Soviet Union, in our perestroyka.

When 3 years ago we were standing at its fountainhead, the overriding question was how to advance to a higher level of development and which forces to activate. We first had to take a new look around and see what is what in our society—which things in it meet the basic values of socialism, which are of a transient nature as they shaped under emergency conditions, and which, finally, must be discarded as a result of mistakes and deformities.

We see perestroyka as a revolutionary breakthrough into the future and at the same time as a return to the permanent values corresponding to Lenin's concept of socialism. We are well aware that the moral climate in society is largely determined by how honest and principled a policy is and by how words are matched by deeds. This is why we objectively assess our past and candidly talk about the problems and difficulties of today. I think that those of you who have visited the Soviet Union have lately been able to feel how vibrant our social life has become and in what a bold and off-beat manner people have begun to think.

Perestroyka is a new effort, but it already has its history, or more precisely its pre-history. We have left behind the period of analyzing the situation in an all-round way and evolving development strategy. We are now entering the period of thoroughgoing and sweeping change.

With the Law on State Enterprises now in force, the rights of workers collectives have been broadened dramatically and the electiveness of managers is becoming a norm. Economic accountability is being phased in, along with new forms of organizing and motivating labor. People are learning to live in conditions where one cannot remain on the sidelines and reserve one's opinion to oneself and where everyone has to assume responsibility for the job in hand and share in decisionmaking. Conditions are being created for developing co-op and individual enterprise projects.

An idea of the scale of the processes linked with the introduction of economic reform can be obtained from the very fact that enterprises manufacturing about 60 percent of industrial output have switched to new conditions of work, to conditions of independence, self-capitalization, self-financing and self-management.

Are there any difficulties? Thre are, and quite a few of them. One group of problems is due to the transitional period itself, when the new economic machinery is not yet fully in place everywhere. Others stem from faltering social psychology and the misconception of socialism as a society of genral egalitarianism in supplies. We have now set the task of making sure that the socialist principle of distribution be effected everywhere, that the personal contribution by everyone to public wealth be taken into account as accurately as possible, and that conscientious, dedicated work, talen and inspiration be really esteemed.

Perestroyka has put a revamping of the political system as a pressing problem on the order of the day as well. We plan to discuss this issue thoroughly at the national party conference due next summer. We are thinking how to delimit the functions of state and party agencies better, rid them of formalism, breathe a new life into the soviets of people's deputies, improve the election system, furnish the essential prerequisites—legal, economic, moral and political—for a renewal of socialist self-government by the people, and strengthen law and order.

We will have to ponder in real earnest the issue of upgrading interethnic relations. It is one of the more important and delicate issues of life in such a multinational state as the Soviet Union. Our starting positions here are solid. Recently, when the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution was celebrated in Moscow, we spoke with justified content about the results of the Leninist nationalities policy and about how much has been done in the country for the economic advancement and cultural flourishing of the numerous peoples inhabiting our fatherland and for their living in friendship and accord.

Take any union or autnomous republic or any region you like, and you'll see that it is now connected with all the other parts of the country by thousands of links and is part and parcel of the integral national economic and political complex that has taken shape over the years of Soviet Government.

But it would, of course, be wrong to treat the issues of nationalities and interethnic relations as matters that have been resolved once and for all. In their development there are difficulties which we have inherited from the past and there are problems engendered by the passage of time and by changes in the economic life of society, in social relations and in public mentality. We think it essential to ensure their democratic resolution in line with the interests of both each individual ethnic group in the Soviet family and of our socialist society as a whole.

I would like to stress that the changes in our society are solidly linked with the activities of the Communist Party. The CPSU has initiated perestroyka and at the current, watershed juncture in the development of Soviet society its role as the political vanguard of the people is especially great. It is our conviction that the party can perform the crucial tasks confronting it not by way of commands and injuctions, but by leading the popular drive for a revolutionary renewal of society and consolidating the two-way contact with the working class, farmers, intellectuals and all sections of the population.

We pursue our perestroyka, proceeding, naturally enough, from the conditions and requirements of our own country, and are by no means going to pass it off for a universal model and a prescription suiting all. But we clearly perceive also its international aspect. After all, the fate of the new social system and the future of civilization itself depend on the renewal of the theory and practice of socialism, on Communists' ability to take fully into account the changes occurring in the world under the influence of the scientific and technical revolution.

Our party and the Soviet people are fully resolved to complete the work they have begun on restructuring and thus make their contribution to the solution of the historical task facing the Communist movement and all champions of socialism.

Allow me now, dear comrades, to share with you some thoughts on the course of international affairs.

Over the past decades the world has known periods of tension and temporary relaxation, flare-ups of the "cold war" and relative thaws in the international climate. But one thing remained unchanged: the level of arms, most notably nuclear ones, kept rising, while that of general security kept declining.

Now, for the first time ever, it has proved possible to start moving in the opposite direction—not to an arms build-up and not even to a mere arms freeze, but to cuts in nuclear arsenals. Although the treaty signed in Washington is still before the Soviet and American lawmakers, humanity has at last got hope.

It takes more than one gulp to quench a thirst, of course. The Washington treaty provides for abolishing just 4-5 percent of the deadly weapons. But it is no less, and even more, important that this is the first step to a nuclear-free world and in general to stopping the arms race. It creates a kind of initial infrastructure for disarmament and is connected with the mastering of various instruments, forms and methods without which this process cannot make further headway. I mean first of all an effective monitoring system to check the nuclear missiles' destruction and a package of confidence-building and verification measures on the performance of the treaty as a whole.

Officially, the treaty has been signed by two countries, namely the Soviet Union and the United States, but in fact there are all grounds for considering it a collective creation of international reason, the result of an effort involving dozens of states, both those belonging to the two military-political groups and neutral, nonaligned ones.

At every phase in its prepartion, starting from its conception, we have discussed all related issues constantly and in detail with our Warsaw treaty allies, taken counsel with other socialist nations, including, naturally, Yugoslavia, and consulted practically all European, and not only European, countries.

So it can be said safely that the technology of preparing agreements of this kind has in the main been mastered. It only remains to use it effectively, making the necessary adjustments and changes, of course, since along with nuclear ones, other kinds of weapons—chemical and conventional ones—will be covered as well.

Are there chances for success already in the near future?

I believe that one can answer this question with guarded optimism: There certainly are such chances, but quite a few serious hurdles are yet to be cleared to finally halt the arms race and throw the door to a nuclear-free and nonviolent world wide open for humanity.

A good groundwork has been laid in Washington and it has been agreed to continue vigorous work on an agreement for halving the strategic offensive arms of both sides on condition that the ABM Treaty will be preserved, as signed in 1972. Already after the meeting in the United States, it proved possible to achieve certain results during U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz' visit to the USSR. It is of immense significance that the strategic nuclear arms reduction talks are taking place amid keen and well-willing attention on the part of the entire world community. I'll tell you this: I have to meet with politicians, including conservatively-minded ones, often and no one of them has voiced doubts about the need to further the Soviet-American dialogue on disarmament.

It is another matter that heated debates are now in progress on both sides of the Atlantic on the question of exactly what the agreements that are now on the agenda should be like. We consider this to be quite normal. For each country the interests of its security are important and it stands to reason that when discussing these questions political circles and the public at large express differing points of view. In the process clearly exaggerated demands are also being set forth. But in the long run the art of politics, the art of talks is precisely in bringing the different viewpoints to a common denominator by way of a reasonable compromise, in finding a balance of interests.

It is from these positions that we evaluate the results of the recent meeting of the leaders of NATO countries. The impression is a dual one. At first glance views were expressed in support of continuing efforts to scale down the race in nuclear and other weapons and developing the Helsinki process. But one cannot but be alerted by the fact that formulas of quite a different sort had sounded there much more frequently. Some leaders of the North Atlantic alliance obviously tried to combine what cannot be combined: Approval ofthe INF Treaty with demands to compensate for it by building up other armaments, in particular on NATO's southern flank; recognition of the need to reduce conventional armaments, to remove imbalances with a stubborn defense of the doctrine of "nuclear deterrence".

These obvious contradictions, if not to say absurdities, have quite definite political causes. Those who have ossified perceptions that were dominant before the meeting in Reykjavik and before the Washington accords are frightened by the very thought of parting with nuclear arms which they view as a symbol of power and an instrument to genuinely influence the course of international events. But since it is awkward to admit this openly they continue to insist on the purported existence of a threat posed by the Soviet Union, the Warsaw treaty and try to salvage at least something of the "enemy image" that is now being eroded by the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

All the thoughts and actions of the Soviet Union and our socialist allies are directed at finally pulling out the roots of the cold war embedded in economic relations, politics, diplomacy, culture, the consciousness and mentality of people.

We are working tirelessly for this.

Undoubtedly disarmament, first of all nuclear disarmament, is the main task.

Everybody agrees the reduction of armed forces and armaments on the scale of the entire continent—from the Atlantic to the Urals—is the main avenue of strengthening peace in Europe. Systems of so called dual designation, that is capable of carrying nuclear warheads, are no exception here. We are for serious, really businesslike, so to say no-nonsense talks on the entire range of these issues with the participation of all European countries.

Like Yugoslavia the Soviet Union is a consistent champion of developing the Helsinki process. It comes out for greater trust between its participants, for strengthening all-European cooperation and security. In particular, this would be promoted by the implementation of various proposals to create zones of reduced concentration of armaments. There are valuable relevant initiatives of the GDR, Poland, Czechsolovakia and Hungary concerning the center of Europe. In Murmansk we outlined our views on possible steps along the same direction as applied to the Baltic and the north of the continent. I believe the idea to turn the Balkan Peninsula into a nuclear-free zone is one of the oldest such projects. The first ever meeting of foreign ministers of six Balkan states was held recently here in Belgrade. It showed that despite the existing differences here it is possible to find ground for cooperation in the sphere of politics, economy, ecology and culture. This is a valuable regional contribution to improving the situation in Europe.

On our side it has been stated more than once and I would like to reiterate that the Soviet Union is fully for the development of cooperation on the Balkans. We support the latest initiatives of Bulgaria, Romania, Yugoslavia and Greece directed at reducing military activity here; we come out for the withdrawal of all foreign troops and military bases from the peninsula; we will give all the necessary guarantees should it be decided to create on the Balkans a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons.

My country is ready to interact with the Balkan states in environmental protection as well. Belonging here also is the bigger problem of protecting the great vital artery of southern Europe—the Danube. Joint measures along this direction should be linked with vigorous actions against the further pollution of the Black Sea. This is a common interest not only for European but also for a number of Asian states. Yugoslavia is simultaneously a Balkan and a Mediterranean country. I would like to dwell particularly on the situation in this area. The Mediterranean is regarded with full right as the cradle of European civilization. It is a crossroads of world routes, a field of the synthesis of cultures, a space populated by tens of peoples who are making a big and unique contribution to the development of Europe and the entire world community.

But alas there is also another aspect to it. Today the Mediterranean is one of the most explosive regions of the world, a tight knot of contradictory interests filled with huge arsenals which, moreover, continue growing. Also, in no other landlocked expanse of water is there such a concentration of naval forces.

For us the Mediterranean basin is not some remote and distant area. It is close to our southern border and passing through it is the only sea lane linking our southern ports with the world ocean. Naturally, we are interested in seeing lanes of peace and not routes of war passing here.

In this connection I would like to state first of all that we fully support the program of measures to ensure security that was set forth at the Brioni meeting of Mediterranean states members of the Nonaligned Movement. This is a good basis for an extensive and productive dialogue on the region's problems.

Along with the proposals to reduce military potentials in the Mediterranean area, made by the Soviet Union earlier, we would like to submit additional proposals for consideration by the international community.

First. Confirming our readiness for the withdrawal of the navies of the USSR and the United States from the Mediterranean, we propose not to put this off till the Greek calends and as the first step, already beginning from July 1 of this year, to freeze the number of ships and the potential of the naval forces of both countries stationed there. And then to establish ceilings for them.

Second. Even before agreement on joint confidence-building measures in the spirit of the Stockholm accords the Soviet Union and the United States could notify each other and all Mediterranean countries in time about the sending of naval ships and military exercises, and to invite observers to them.

Third. The development by Mediterranean and other interested countries of principles and methods of ensuring the safety of lanes of intensive shipping, especially in international straits, will have our every support.

As we express these considerations we realize there also exist many other initiatives that merit attention and were set forth in recent years by many states, first of all Mediterranean ones. It would be useful now to put all these proposals together, bring them to a system, determine the rational sequence and order of their implementation. I believe this task could be taken up by a

conference of representatives of Mediterranean states and other interested countries. We and not only we alone have expressed this idea in the past and it is acquiring growing revelance.

The Mediterranean Sea has an amazing specificity—it serves as a link of continents and offers broad access to lands beyond Europe. In the south its waters wash the coast of Africa, in the East—of Asia. While the West from which the caravels of Columbus sailed out 500 ago retains lively ties with Latin America.

I believe that nowhere else is the common nature of the destiny of peoples, the interdependence and integrity of the contemporary world felt with such intensity as here. There can be no real calm in Europe while violence reigns in Palestine, while the seat of war remains in the Middle East, while the South African racists perpetrate with impunity aggression against Angola, Mozambique and other African Frontline States, while the Iran-Iraq war continues.

The so called local conflicts are sometimes called "low intensity wars". But this lulling term is deceptive. For the peoples drawn into the armed clashes their intensity is measured by the price of big losses. Besides, these conflicts have long acquired an international character. The flames raging there can spread to other areas and become a direct or indirect cause of a global conflagration. That is why the settlement of existing conflict situations and, as far as possible, the prevention of new ones is one of the most pressing world problems. A serious and effective role here can and should belong to the United Nations Organisations and the Security Council.

The practice of past decades shows the entire balefulness and barrenness of attempts to find military solutions to conflicts. It shows that the search for a political solution is the only correct approach. In other words, the creation of such a situation determined by international law around the seat of conflict which, firstly, would prevent the delivery of combustible material from the outside, secondly, would guarantee the non-spreading of this seat to other countries and regions and, thirdly, would ensure to the people itself and only to it a possibility of a socio-political choice without outside interference.

As a matter of fact exactly such an approach was put in the foundation of the far-reaching proposals to settle the situation around Afghanistan. We are prepared to fulfil the commitments which we undertook on arrangement with the leadership of the Republic of Afghanistan given, of course, that all the other interested sides will consistently observe the agreed-upon terms. If matters develop in that direction this example will help advance the settlement of other regional conflicts as well, eliminate hotbeds of the danger of war.

Esteemed comrades, slightly more than 10 years remain before the end of a century which has changed mankind's life more than all the preceding centuries taken together. It has radically deepened the entire system of our knowledge, imparted speed and scope to social processes and brought about an unprecedented advance of science and technology. Yet at the same time it has created the possibility of mankind's self-annihilation.

But the march of time is increasing its pace. It can be said that we are physically feeling the steps of history. What has the future in store for mankind? Nuclear devastation, a gigantic ecological cataclysm, the turning of humans into robots bereft of criteria of morality and goodness? It would be unforgivable to shrug off these dangers. They are real.

But just as real is the alternative to them. An alternative rejecting war and violence. The road of progress and cooperation making it possible to preserve civilization and save life on earth will illumine still brighter man's creative predestination.

Mankind is duty bound to reach new frontiers of progress. But this can be done only by the concerted efforts of all states united by a spirit of responsibility and mutual understanding, equality and trust.

The democratization of international relations is a condition of embarking on this road. Herein lies an imperative of our time. The nuclear sword can be stopped only by peoples which have united for the sake of saving the world.

First of all democratization requires an unconditional recognition by the international community of the right of each people to shape its destiny, its right to dispose of its own resources. This is a universal, general right, it cannot belong to some "chosen" peoples and the more so be measured by the economic or military potential of states. Each country has its own voice in the common choir of the community of nations, each people has its interests that are not subordinated to the interests of other states but are conjugated with them.

Democratization also means the inclusion of all states in the solution of the most important problems of our time. The time has passed when a handful of great powers decided for the whole world, divided it into spheres of influence according to the principle of "might makes right". Now nobody, be it in London or Washington, Paris or Moscow, can solve any whatsoever major international issues without heeding the multivoiced world, without taking into account the views of other countries, without indentifying with one's political radar their aspirations and hopes.

The democratization of world politics and international relations is long ripe and urgent. The 20th century which has generated unprecedented social revolutions, the revolutionary restructuring of theold, unjust international

syutem, the scientific and technological revolution is now giving birth also to a new political consciousness. The consciousness which will absorb the entire preceding experience of mankind, which, and we have faith in this, will draw correct, sensible, humane conclusions for the future. One of these conclusions is the unbreakable link today of the very existence of humankind with the right of every people to socioeconomic choice, with man's right to life.

It is not by chance that the concluding quarter of our stormy century has bound together, combined in world politics such key problems as disarmament and development, a just world economic order and a just world information order, the rights of man and the rights of peoples. These problems are seen in such an interconnection by the majority of states that are members of the Nonaligned Movement and of the United Nations. I stress here with satisfaction the coincidence of the principled approaches also of our two countries—the USSR and Yugoslavia.

Last but not least, international relations are increasingly becoming the business not only of professional diplomats, leaders of states but also of the public in general. The isolation of society from world politics, the conduct of world politics in studies and lobbies, I would say the bureaucratic manner of conducting world politics were a source of many calamities for which the popular masses had to pay. Such a practice is impermissible today when mankind's very existence is at stake.

Using Lenin's words it can be said that today the peoples should know everything and judge about everything consciously. Their voice is not only a backdrop for the activity of politicians and not just an expression of support or rejection of these or those international actions. Their voice stands also for new impulses, ideas and initiatives.

I want to wish the Communists and the working people of Socialist Yugoslavia success in solving the tasks facing the country and in raising their motherland to new heights of progress.

May Soviet-Yugoslav cooperation develop and our friendship strengthen.

I wish you peace and prosperity, dear friends.

The deputies of the Federal Assembly, and all Yugoslav comrades present here, I want to thank you again for your attention. Thank you.

Comrade M.S. Gorbachev's speech was accompanied by applause.

M.S. Gorbachev was then presented with the SFRY Federal Assembly commemorative medal.

The CPSU Central Committee General Secretary presented the SFRY Federal Assembly with the painting "The Liberation of Belgrade" by RSFSR People's Artist M.I. Samsonov.

SFRY's Loncar Assesses Speech

LD162242 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 16 Mar 88

[Text] [Announcer] A significant event in the official friendly visit by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, to Yugoslavia was his speech in the Federal Assembly. Our correspondent in Yugoslavia asked Budimir Loncar, Yugoslavia's federal secretary for foreign affairs, to share his impressions of the speech. Here is what he said.

[Loncar in vernacular with superimposed Russian translation] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's speech in the SFRY Federal Assembly reflects the Soviet leader's desire for the further development of relations between our countries. In this context I also view Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's new proposals on easing tension in the Mediterranean. I should like to particularly highlight the part of the speech which says that the world's destiny must lie in the hands of all countries, and not just of individual states. Also highly important, it seems to me, is the fact that Comrade Gorbachev stressed the great significant of the Nonaligned Movement in the modern world.

Noteworthy as well is the section stating that the Soviet-U.S. treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles matches the hopes and aspirations of the whole world. That is the very first impression of the speech, which merits detailed study.

'Friendly, Cordial' Visit

PM161547 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Mar 88 First Edition p 4

[G. Vasilyev, V. Sharov report: "As Good Friends; PRAVDA Special Correspondents Report From Belgrade"]

[Text] Soviet-Yugoslav cooperation, its results, opportunities, and prospects were today the main theme of the meetings and talks with M.S. Gorbachev, who is in Yugoslavia on an official friendly visit.

"The Soviet leader's arrival in our country as it were sums up a long-standing period of intensive cooperation between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union," A. Sekulovic, head of the LCY Central Committee International Relations Department, said. "An opportunity has arisen to jointly reflect on how we have worked in the past and what remains to be done in the future taking into account both the new social processes in the USSR and the efforts being undertaken in the SFRY to improve the political system of self-government and the economic mechanism. I can state with full justification: We are not

talking about an ordinary visit by one leader of another country. No, this is a significant event and not only within the framework of bilateral contacts but from the standpoint of its influence on international affairs. This explains the world public's exceptionally great interest in the visit of the CPSU Central Committee general secretary to our country."

Each of the events in the visit's program in its own way recalls the long-standing ties of our countries and the friendship and cooperation determining their present relations. M.S. Gorbachev visited the memorial to J. Broz Tito and laid a wreath at the grave of the prominent state and party leader of Yugoslavia, a prominent figure in the international Communist and workers movement.

The Soviet guest planted a tree in the Park of Friendship in Novi Beograd. M.S. Gorbachev's visit to the capital's "Ivo Lola Ribar" machine building plant turned into a brilliant demonstration of Soviet-Yugoslav friendship. The workers and leadership of the enterprise cordially welcomed the envoy of the Soviet Communists. It is a leading plant in the sector.

The collective has close ties with its Soviet partners. The plant delivers almost 90 percent of all export output to the USSR (and this was worth $56 million in 1987). We receive from here special machine tools, processing centers, automatic production lines for the automotive industry, and other output. The workers are in favor of developing modern forms of cooperation. The first steps have been made in this direction. Joint production of signaling devices has been arranged with the Moscow "Stankoagregat" production association, and of heavy borers with the "Tyazhstankogidropress" production association.

To cooperate more closely and exchange experience more vigorously with their partners from the USSR—this thought was heard more than once in the lively conversations at the "Ivo Lola Ribar" plant.

The second day of the visit was full not only of official talks between the most prominent leaders of the CPSU and the LCY and events envisaged in the program of the visit. There were also spontaneous, unplanned meetings between the general secretary of our party's Central Committee and the people of the capital. Such meetings convey better than any words the profound interest of the Yugoslav public at large in the life of the Soviet Union.

As we were with other journalists in the motorcade accompanying M.S. Gorbachev, we saw how people gathered round him at the first opportunity. They cordially welcomed the eminent guest. Each time a short but meaningful conversation and dialogue took place.

So it was when the motorcade passed along Tito Street. M.S. Gorbachev asked the car to be stopped and got out. Hundreds of Belgrade people immediately surrounded him. All this illustrates well the warm, friendly atmosphere in which the visit is taking place and the sincerity and goodwill with which the Belgrade people are meeting the envoy of the Soviet Communists.

GDR's Sindermann, Delegation Arrive in Moscow

LD142225 Moscow TASS in English 1705 GMT 14 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 14 TASS—A delegation from the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic arrived on an official visit here today at the invitation of the Supreme Soviet (Parliament) of the USSR.

The delegation is being led by Horst Sindermann, a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the People's Chamber.

West Europe

Soviet Actor in Madrid Granted Asylum by France

AU171058 Paris AFP in English 1053 GMT 17 Mar 88

[Text] Madrid, March 17 (AFP)—France has granted asylum to a Soviet actor after he left his troupe visiting here on Monday, diplomatic sources said Thursday.

Alexis Maslov quit Moscow's Taganka theatre troupe shortly after its arrival on Monday to question Spanish police on his rights to asylum.

He was later granted asylum at the French Consulate and was escorted by police to Madrid's Barrajas airport where he left for Paris on Wednesday, informed sources added.

Shevardnadze Holds Talks With FRG Banker

PM161629 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Mar 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Conversation Held"]

[Text] On 15 March E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, received F.W. Christians, chairman of the Board of the FRG Deutsche Bank, who is in the Soviet Union.

During the conversation they discussed questions of economic, scientific and technical, and industrial cooperation between the Soviet Union and the FRG, and also some aspects of modern development in Europe and the rest of the world. The Soviet concept of curbing the arms race in both nuclear and conventional weapons was explained to the German side.

E.A. Shevardnadze emphasized that the present international situation creates favorable conditions for galvanizing Soviet-West German political dialogue and collaboration in the economic sphere. The Soviet side noted

with satisfaction the active role played by FRG business circles in making bilateral relations really constructive and dynamic, which provides the reason for continuing to focus on the FRG as one of the Soviet Union's leading partners in the West. The current visit by the chairman of the Deutsche Bank Board to the Soviet Union and his contacts and talks with the interested Soviet departments is useful in the context of preparing for a visit to our country by FRG Federal Chancellor H. Kohl.

Both sides spoke in favor of new approaches to economic cooperation, particularly with regard to the establishment of joint enterprises, financing, and management. The participants in the conversation agreed that one task is to reach a higher technological level of cooperation. In this respect E.A. Shevardnadze drew attention to the need to remove vestiges of the past from bilateral relations and anything that could prevent the development of our economic ties and the strengthening of mutual trust.

In connection with the great interest displayed by FRG business circles in the Soviet Union's restructuring processes, E.A. Shevardnadze noted the far-reaching, irreversible nature of restructuring, including in the economic sphere. The transition of Soviet enterprises to work in conditions of economic accountability [khozraschet] and self-capitalization is an important, long-term boost to improving the efficiency of the whole of the country's national economy. By guaranteeing the predictability of Soviet domestic and foreign policy, restructuring creates the most favorable conditions for the development of stable foreign economic ties with the Soviet Union's Western partners.

Tolkunov Delegation Meets With Italian Officials

LD161309 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0844 GMT 16 Mar 88

[Text] Rome, 16 Mar (TASS)—The Soviet parliamentary delegation led by Lev Tolkunov, chairman of the Council of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet and chairman of the USSR Parliamentary Group, which is here on an official visit, held its first meeting with the Italian parliamentary group delegation.

There was a constructive exchange of opinions on the most topical international problems and on the development of bilateral Soviet-Italian relations. Issues of military detente, disarmament, and consolidating pan-European cooperation occupied a central place. On many of the most important problems, it was clear that the positions of the two sides are close or coincide, in particular on issues concerning the need to ratify the INF Treaty as quickly as possible, to achieve agreement on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons, ban chemical weapons, and reduce conventional weapons and armed forces.

The sides stressed the important nature of Soviet-Italian cooperation in resolving pressing international problems and deepening the Helsinki process. Note was made of significant opportunities for expanding economic ties between the USSR and Italy and deepening cultural exchange.

Those taking part in the meeting stressed the special responsibility borne by parliamentarians in safeguarding a stable peace and expressed their readiness to develop Soviet-Italian dialogue.

The same day the delegation met Flaminio Piccoli, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Chamber of Deputies. There was a businesslike exchange of opinions on a wide range of international issues. Piccoli stressed the special attention paid by Italian parliamentarians to developing relations with the Soviet Union and pointed out the need to deepen and consolidate them. He pointed out that the dynamism of the foreign policy activities of M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, gives rise to respect and enormous interest among Italian parliamentarians and public. Having praised highly the INF Treaty, he expressed the confidence that this agreement would give a new momentum to the process of disarmament and strengthening international security.

Lev Tolkunov noted that that the sides' viewpoints coincided on a whole range of issues and that it is essential to deepen international dialogue with the aim of jointly searching for a mutually acceptable solution to international problems.

The delegation had a conversation with Senate President Giovanni Spadolini, who expressed great satisfaction at the signing of the INF Treaty and the hope that a new, important agreement in the sphere of nuclear disarmament would soon be concluded. We know how enormous is the contribution made by Mikhail Gorbachev to the signing of the treaty, G. Spadolini said. There is no doubt that his contribution to the working out of the USSR's foreign policy line will make it possible to attain new diplomatic successes. Having given a high appraisal to the level of Soviet-Italian relations, the Senate president stressed the historical roots of the mutual sympathy that the peoples of both countries feel for each other.

The head of the Soviet delegation described in detail the USSR's efforts aimed at curbing the danger of nuclear conflict. The first tangible step in this direction was taken by concluding the INF Treaty, said the Soviet representative, having noted that the Italian Government lent its support to this major international campaign.

He stressed that the bilateral Soviet-Italian relations were developing in a positive direction practically in all areas. Very great opportunities exist, in particular in the spheres of scientific and technical and economic cooperation, and cultural ties.

The delegation met with Michele Achilli, chairman of the Senate Foreign Affairs Commission. He recalled that members of the parliamentary commissions unanimously approved the INF Treaty as a start to the peace process and expressed the hope that the process of disarmament and peaceful construction would be strong and lasting.

We are convinced, he said, that it is necessary to move along the path of working out and concluding an agreement on a 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive arms, and fervently wish for progress at the Vienna talks on reducing conventional arms.

Holds Rome News Conference

LD170320 Moscow TASS in English 0148 GMT 17 Mar 88

[Text] Rome March 16 TASS—A press conference of the Soviet parliamentary delegation led by Lev Tolkunov, chairman of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet, chairman of the Parliamentary Group of the USSR, was held in the Chamber of Deputies of the Italian Parliament here today.

Speaking during the press conference, Lev Tolkunov pointed out that the leading topic of talks on the ancient soil of Italy, which had provided the world with ideals of the good and humanism, was how to clear the way for building confidence between countries and developing the sentiments of friendship and mutual sympathies between the peoples of the world.

He emphasized that a detailed fruitful exchange of views which was aimed at looking for common approaches to most diverse issues again revealed the need to redouble joint efforts in the name of advance to a nuclear-weapon-free and non-violent world along the road of all-round cooperation. The main landmarks along the road were designated in Mikhail Gorabchev's Statement dated January 15, 1986, and in a whole number of his subsequent statements.

The first step along the road leading mankind away from the nuclear threat has practically been made, he said. The Soviet-U.S. INF Treaty which should eliminate two classes of nuclear weapons was signed. Next step, in the common opinion of the Soviet and Italian sides, should be cardinally to cut down strategic offensive arms. The Soviet Union insists on non-withdrawal from the ABM Treaty within a mutually agreed period.

The leader of the Soviet delegation pointed out that a large amount of intense diplomatic work was being done in this respect and in other directions of disarmament. "The job of the parliamentarians is to help both in the cause of improving mutual understanding between various countries and in achieving tangible international accords in the field of disarmament and in strengthening accords in the field of disarmament and in strengthening universal security".

Lev Tolkunov said that there was a good reserve for the future in cooperation between the Soviet Union and Italy, the cooperation which had a years-long record and was based on the striving for mutual understanding and trust.

"Contacts between the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Italian Parliament are to contribute to using this reserve to the maximum in the interests of the two countries' peoples and for the benefit of the cause of relaxation of tension and cooperation in Europe", the leader of the Soviet delegation said.

Lev Tolkunov and delegation members answered journalists' questions.

Latin America & Caribbean

U.S. Deploys 'Four Crack Battalions' to Honduras

LD171201 Moscow TASS in English 1037 GMT 17 Mar 88

["United States Heats Up Situation Around Nicaragua"—TASS headline]

[Text] Washington March 17 TASS—The White House officially announced Wednesday evening the decision by President Reagan to send a special brigade task force consisting of two battalions of the 82nd Airborne Division and two battalions from the 7th Infantry Division and also supporting units for an "emergency deployment" to Honduras.

The movement of the U.S. troops estimated at more than 3,200 to Honduras will begin this morning from the bases Fort Bragg, North Carolina, and Fort Ord, California. Upwards of 3,000 soldiers of the U.S. National Guards and Army Reserve are already stationed in Honduras by now, the newspaper THE WASHINGTON POST reported.

The decision to send in an additional four crack battalions was made following the meeting of the inter-departmental group on national security issues held in the White House Situation Room. The troops are moved under the pretext of a certain "incursion" of Nicaraguan forces into the territory of Honduras. An official administration spokesman said that the Congress leadership was informed about the President's decision by telephone.

The U.S. Administration moved to take this hostile step despite the statements by the ministries of defence and foreign affairs of Honduras itself to the effect that they do not have proofs of Nicaraguan troops crossing into Honduras. Honduras also dismissed the charges that the country's president had requested aid from Washington.

The version of a "Nicaraguan incursion", launched by the White House, was received with scepticism also by many U.S. lawmakers. Christopher Dodd, chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere and

Peace Corps Affairs, said that he treated with extreme suspicion the clamour raised by the administration, discerning in this the intention to secure an approval of the request for emergency aid to the contras.

Back before the Reagan decision was officially announced, Edward Markey, member of the House of Representatives, said that "this is not the first time the President has made use of his military authority after he lost a vote on the contras". Markey described the White House action as "an irresponsible involvement of American troops in the conflict in Central America", which would lead to "the escalation of tensions in that region".

Two years ago, the Reagan administration used the similar charges of Nicaraguan incursion into Honduras to provide emergency military aid to the latter. Consequently, however, special congressional commissions investigating the Iran-contra scandal arrived at the conclusion that the administration manipulated intelligence data.

Managua March 17 TASS—A spokesman for the Nicaraguan Defence Ministry confirmed that the Sandinist People's Army was engaged in a large-scale offensive combat against contra gangs in the area of San Andres de Bocay, the site of the contras' main base in Nicaraguan territory. Operations by the Sandinist People's Army force the enemy to hide in Honduran territory and look for support near the Nicaraguan border.

Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega, in an address to the Nicaraguan people in Managua Wednesday, gave the lie to the slanderous campaign launched by the Reagan administration to cast aspersions on Nicaragua and accuse it of failure to observe the Guatemalan peace agreements. He said that Washington's attempts to charge the Sandinist leadership with an armed incursion into Honduras had no real ground whatsoever and were aimed at thwarting the direct negotiations on a ceasefire between the Nicaraguan Government and the contras, scheduled for March 21, and at protracting the armed conflict in Central America.

The White House actually stakes on the escalation of the war in Nicaragua and direct intervention by U.S. troops. In these circumstances, the Nicaraguan people are ready to uphold arms in hand independence and national sovereignty and counter any attempts by international imperialism to throttle the Sandinist Revolution, Ortega stressed.

Units Seen 'On the Move'

LD170715 Moscow TASS in English 0712 GMT 17 Mar 88

[Text] Havana March 17 TASS—U.S. troops deployed in Honduras have been spotted moving secretly towards the Nicaraguan border, according to reports reaching here.

The Tegucigalpa-based newspaper LA TRIBUNA said people in El Paraiso department had been witnessing U.S. Army units on the move to the southern frontier since late last week.

Military helicopters are airlifting troops and artillery, for example, to the U.S. Air Base Hamastran just 30 kilometers from the border.

It has also been reported that the White House has decided to send the 82nd Air-Borne Division, which has gained notoriety for its part in the U.S. invasion of Grenada in October 1983, to Honduras.

In this situation Latin American commentators view Washington's charges against Nicaragua as a pretext for intervention against the Sandinista Republic.

The Honduran Armed Forces are not aware of any violations of the border of their country by Nicaragua. PRENSA LATINA news agency quoted Colonel Suarez, a Honduran Army spokesman, as saying there was no information about any Sandinista Army unit having crossed the border into Honduras.

He said Honduran military units on station along the southern border had reported Nicaraguan units fighting with contras in the territory of their country, but had made no reports about any frontier violations.

Following that, presidential spokesman Lisandro Quesada also said that the government had no official information about the Sandinist Popular Army having crossed the Honduran border.

Managua March 17 TASS—The Sandinist Army is mounting a major offensive against contra gangs in the area of San Andres de Bocay, the site of the counter-revolutionaries' main base in Nicaraguan territory, a spokesman for this country's defense ministry confirmed here.

The Army's operations, he said, have been forcing the enemy to flee to Honduran territory and seek support near the Nicaraguan border.

Wire services reported special engineer units of the U.S. Army and Honduran servicemen having been rushed by helicopters to the southern Honduran department of El Paraiso where the mercenaries have their principal bases and where there are air strips to receive C-130 cargo planes bringing in arms and ammunition for the contras.

Radio Sandino reported repeated violations of Nicaraguan air space today in the area of the northern border by aircraft bearing no identification markings. Several times they flew over the city of Puerto Cabezas on the Atlantic coast of the country.

Ortega Condemns U.S. 'Slander'

LD170631 Moscow TASS in English 0543 GMT 17 Mar 88

[Text] Managua March 17 TASS—President Daniel Ortega of the Republic of Nicaragua made a statement here Wednesday in which he denounced a malicious campaign of slander launched by the Reagan administration against Nicaragua for the purpose of denigrating Nicaragua and accusing it of the violation of the Guatemala peace accords.

He stated in his address to the Nicaraguan people that Washington's attempts to accuse the Sandinist leadership of an armed invasion of Honduras were absolutely groundless and were aimed at disrupting direct ceasefire talks between the Nicaraguan Government and the contras scheduled for March 21 and at procrastinating the armed conflict in Central America.

The Nicaraguan leader said that the White House actually counted on the escalation of the war in Nicaragua and on a direct intervention of U.S. troops. In these conditions the Nicaraguan people are ready to uphold their independence and national sovereignty arms in hand and to counter any attempts of world imperialism to destroy the Sandinist Revolution, Ortega pointed out.

Nicaraguan 'Readiness' for Ceasefire Accord Noted

LD161655 Moscow TASS in English 1620 GMT 16 Mar 88

[Text] Managua March 16 TASS—Daniel Ortega, the president of Nicaragua, has expressed the Nicaraguan Government's readiness to reach a ceasefire accord at the forthcoming talks with the contras. In a talk to journalists here, he emphasized that the national leadership would conduct a direct dialogue with contra leaders without any pre-conditions.

At the same time the president pointed out the lack of such a desire on the part of the contras that represent the interests of the U.S. Administration, and did not rule it out that the meeting which is scheduled to be held in Sapoa on March 21-23 might be frustrated at the last moment.

The U.S.-headed international imperialism, Daniel Ortega emphasized, continues flagrantly to interfere in the internal affairs of Latin American countries. At the same time Washington, in an attempt to frustrate the implementation of the Guatemala agreements, stubbornly ignores the efforts of the Central American states towards a peaceful settlement of the situation in the region.

Britain, the closest NATO ally of the United States, is holding provocative military exercises on the British-occupied Falkland (Malvinas) Islands which are an integral part of the territory of Argentina.

In the face of hostile intrigues of imperialism, the Latin American peoples have got to enhance vigilance and resolutely to counteract its unceasing aggressive sallies, the Nicaraguan president said.

Daniel Ortega confirmed reports that the Sandinist People's Army launched a big offensive operation in the country's north against the Somozists that suffer serious defeats. The operation was prompted, in particular, by the fact that the contras continued to commit terrorist acts against civilian population, to attack peasant cooperatives, and to kidnap residents.

He also said that the Nicaraguan Government called on the opposition political parties of the country to cease provocative anti-government actions and to resume the national dialogue, which had been interrupted by them, to discuss key internal political problems.

Political & Social

Sumgait Leaders 'Relieved' From Duties

Gorispolkom Chairman Mamedov

NC170550 Baku Domestic Service in Armenian 0450 GMT 17 Mar 88

[From the republican press review]

[Text] A session of the 18th convocation of the Soviet of the People's Deputies of Sumgait has similarly examined organizational matters and has relieved Mamedov from his duties as chairman of the gorispolkom for serious shortcomings in the work of maintaining appropriate law and order and discipline in the city and for the lack of political foresight he has shown which has resulted in tragic consequences.

[Name indistinct], who has previously been the director of the [name indistinct] aluminum plant in Sumgait, has been elected chairman of the Sumgait Gorispolkom.

Bagirov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party, has participated in and spoken at the session.

The papers publish reports on these.

Raykom First Secretary

NC170554 Baku Domestic Service in Armenian 0450 GMT 17 Mar 88

[From the republican press review]

[Text] A plenum of the Sumgait Raykom of the Azerbaijan Communist Party has been held to examine organizational matters.

The plenum has relieved (?Dursunzade) from his duties as first secretary of the raykom for (?lack of) political integrity, for major shortcomings in organizational and political work, and for non-party behavior which has (?led) to tragic consequences in the city.

[Salekh Gilal Ogly] Gadziyev, who was until now the chairman of the Nakhichevan ASSR Council of Ministers, was elected first secretary of the Sumgait Raykom.

Bagirov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party, participated in the plenum's work and spoke at the plenum.

Local Leadership Held Responsible for Unrest

LD171111 Moscow in English to North America 0001 GMT 17 Mar 88

[Text] The MOSCOW NEWS weekly carried a dispatch from its special correspondent Karen Katchyatorov in Nagorno-Karabakh, an autonomous region situation [as heard] in the southern republic of Azerbaijan, and this is what he writes:

Only 5 or 6 years ago the nationalities problem in the Soviet Union was believed to have been solved once and for all. That being the case, why take the trouble of showing concern for the needs of every nationality? And in that respect, the events in Nagorno-Karabakh are very indicative. The local governing body, in which most of the deputies were Armenians, approved an appeal to make the region part of the neighboring republic of Armenia. That unprecedented decision sparked off a turbulent reaction in the two neighboring Caucasian republics, Armenia and Azerbaijan. There were demonstrations and meetings in some of the cities and certain unstable and irresponsible elements, under the influence of false rumors, staged disorders and committed criminal offences, which resulted in casualties among the population.

To find out what exactly happened, says Karen Katchyatorov, I went to Stepanakert, the capital of Nagorno-Karabakh. I met and discussed things with (?the) representatives of different sections of the population. Their arguments amounted to two views: One view was that the region should be made part of Armenia; the other, that this is not expedient. In my opinion, the reason for the events in Nagorno-Karabakh and for the approval of an unprecedented decision by the local governing body is the deformed social, economic, and cultural conditions in that autonomous region. Its rights to autonomy have been infringed upon and in many instances simply just on paper. [sentence as heard] The appointment of a doctor or a teacher had to be sanctioned by the ministry of the republic in Baku, the capital of Azerbaijan. A [words indistinct] seems to have been (?built) between the region and Armenia, from which books could be brought in the native Armenian language which is the language of the majority of the population in Nagorno-Karabakh. But it was the social sphere that was neglected most of all. The building of a sports complex dragged on and on. For years the authorities failed to carry out the plans of building child care centers. All those problems have been accumulating for decades. The residents of Nagorno-Karabakh say with bitterness that those questions were raised many times but nobody paid any attention to them.

Responsibility for this lies with the former leadership of Azerbaijan and Nagorno-Karabakh. All this prompted the residents of Nagorno-Karabakh to resort to extreme measures, and that aggravated relations between the two neighboring republics, Azerbaijan and Armenia. Mikhail Gorbachev's appeal to the people of Azerbaijan and

Armenia was of decisive importance in normalizing the situation. The appeal said that no matter would ever agree to have national strife threaten her children in place of strong ties of friendship, equality, and mutual assistance, which is one of the greatest accomplishments of socialism. The Political Bureau asked the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party to arrange a profound and all-round study of the problems in Nagorno-Karabakh and the reasons for the aggravation of relations between the two nationalities, and work out suggestions to help settle the issue. The events in Nagorno-Karabakh, specific as they are, are only one of the painful spots in the relations among nationalities which have lately come to light, and that is why one of the full-scale meetings of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party will be devoted to relations among different Soviet nationalities.

I believe, Karen Katchyatorov writes, one major question is guaranteeing social, economic, and cultural rights of an autonomous region against anticonstitutional and unlawful actions.

Historians: Foreign Powers Fuelled Ethnic Unrest

AU171122 Paris AFP in English 1101 GMT 17 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, March 17 (AFP)—Recent ethnic unrest in the southern republics of Armenia and Azerbaijan has its roots in the civil war years after the Russian Revolution, when foreign powers exploited national divisions and plundered the Transcaucasian economies, Soviet historians said here Thursday.

At a press conference devoted to "blank spots" of history in the southern region, in the wake of local unrest sparked by troubles in the autonomous region of Nagorno-Karabakh, three Soviet historians blamed Germany, Britain, the United States and Turkey for "pouring oil" on the nationalities problem.

Yuriy Polyakov, chairman of the Centre for Historical Demography and Geography, said that "new material" concerning the involvement of British intelligence in stirring up inter-ethnic troubles from 1918 to 1920 had been made available from Indian archives, although the British Government had "kept some of the files". "The invaders piled up economic problems by taking away raw materials" such as cotton, iron and tobacco, from the Transcaucasus region, historian Eduard Rozental said. The historian said the "new material" would be published by the end of this year. The southern region was the scene of bitter rivalry between foreign powers during the civil war from 1917-1921.

The historians were evasive on the role of Josef Stalin concerning the 1923 transfer of Armenian-dominated Nagorno-Karabakh to Azerbaijan. They noted that he was commissar (minister) in charge of nationalities at the time, and as a Georgian had played a "big role" in the Caucasus region. "Stalin had a hand in" the attachment of Nagorno-Karabakh to Azerbaijan, "but we don't know his exact role", Mr. Polyakov said, adding that the transfer had been a "compromise" solution.

The historians noted that the recent problems in Nagorno-Karabakh had resulted from the current policy of "glasnost", or openness. "These ulcers which were hidden came to the fore, in conditions of glasnost", Mr. Rozental said.

The experts, who admitted that "bureaucratic" mistakes had been made in the region in the past, insisted that a solution to the Nagorno-Karabakh problem must be now decided "calmly" by the local people themselves, through the work of commissions.

Hundreds of thousands of Armenians demonstrated in the Armenian capital of Yerevan last month demanding the return of the autonomous region to Armenia. The deaths of two Azerbaijanis in Nagorno-Karabakh sparked Azerbaijani-led riots in the Azerbaijani city of Sumgait on February 28 in which, according to official figures, 32 people died.

Deaths From Plant Discharges Stir Protests

PM161643 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 Mar 88 p 2

[Report by "our correspondent" S. Razin under the rubric "Characters and Facts": "Mailman Vasilyev's 'Bomb.' When the Latest Commission Left Empty-Handed He Put the Documents in His Briefcase and Headed for Moscow"]

[Text] Kirishi, Leningrad Oblast—Now Volodya Vasilyev knows how to act. He had expressly taken me to the apartment so that I would fully understand why he had declared war on the ministry.

"After three nights of it I was worn out. They told me in the morning. On 29 April..." Vera Khitrina broke down and sobbed into her handkerchief, her shoulders shaking uncontrollably.

In the corner, behind an empty child's bed, stood a rolled-up home-made placard, the one her husband had taken on the May Day demonstration. A portrait of her son framed in black, and, beneath it, in shaky writing, in black ink: "This is your work, comrades from the biochemical plant!"

A staggering placard! The whole city saw it....

Kirishi is a young city which has grown rapidly on the bank of the Volkhov, and now it is reminiscent of a coiled spring that could explode at any moment. Opposition—overt, fierce—to the departmental apparatus by 60,000 inhabitants has been going on here for nearly a year.

Mailman Vasilyev plays as big a part in the story as the leaders of the Ministry of the Medical amd Microbiological Industry. As far as Volodya is concerned, perhaps, it all began when he, a 26-year-old correspondence course student, hardened by his hobby of winter sailing, had this strange cough which was getting worse and keeping him awake at night.

Having suffered night after night, he went to the hospital. And he was horrified to see the faces of the children in the corridor. Swollen eyes and red blotches, like burns, on cheeks, necks, and hands. What was going on? The intensive care department was chockablock, asthmatics everywhere were having attacks....

Vasilyev wondered where the wind was coming from. He remembered very well when the people of Kirishi began to have trouble breathing—following the ahead-of-schedule startup of the protein-vitamin concentrates plant. Incidence of bronchial asthma increased by a factor of 35! But why? Why indeed was the second phase of the plant launched in 1982 and why was the ambulance service unable to keep up with all the calls?

Vasilyev did not keep the appointment with the doctor. He dashed off to the plant. That's it! The sharp, unpleasant smell hit him in the face. The purification equipment was clogged up and the scrubbers cleaning the exhaust system had been cut off with welding apparatus. The treacherous cloud had again descended on the city....

Meanwhile, the then deputy minister of the Medical and Microbiological Industry, A. Sorokin, made a pronouncement in the local press. Shame on you, comrades, he said, the sickness rate in Kirishi is no higher than in other cities. A conference was held too, and a plan of additional measures was discussed and agreed on.

At that moment the city was like a coiled spring. There had been many empty promises before. But this ministerial reply amazed everyone by its savage indifference. At the very time there had been an accident at the plant: In two months or so another eight children had died, although, at first, they had been diagnosed as having "acute respiratory disease."

The spring exploded last May. The people of Kirishi poured into the Pioneer Center where, behind closed doors, they discussed the emergency situation in the city. "I am not indifferent to the fate of Kirishi! I got my party card here! I promise that there will not be a single molecule of protein in the air!" Minister V. Bykov almost shouted at the audience. "We don't believe you!" the people packing the gangways right up to the platform loudly declared. It was time for a rally. The action group which had formed around mailman Vasilyev set about organizing it. The action group also included engineers, doctors, and workers.

On 1 June, Child Protection Day, the rally was attended by 12,000 Kirishi locals. Without disguising their tears, people talked of their unhappiness, about how they used to go there to do all-union shock work, on Komsomol passes, and how they used to rejoice as the building progressed. Now they had all signed a petition against the poison plant.

The denouement seemed near. Under pressure from the public the minister shifted his stance three times in 10 days. After the rally the biochemical plant was halted, as was reported even in the central press. The local authorities insisted on a total reorientiation for the plant...

That was 10 months ago.

Mailman Vasilyev is now accused, along with his team, of whipping up mass hysteria by organizing rallies.

"By remaining silent we would be guilty of betrayal, of continuing to conceal our sores," Volodya retorted when they tried to silence him at the gorispolkom, having invited the prosecutor to come along to add authority.

It did not work. Vasilyev was invulnerable. They could not even pin the unofficial label on him. The action group he is in charge of has operated under an official umbrella from the start, having become the sixth section of the city nature conservation society.

The guys' first target was the plant reconstruction, because the shrewd economic managers were already starting their strange little dance. People were beavering away in the shops, but the reconstruction plan... did not exist. It appeared a few weeks before the allotted time ran out.

"Is that all?" the public experts said in suprise, having discovered, in conjunction with public health doctors, around 30 flaws in the plan. "Where are the guarantees that the harmful discharge will cease?" As before, there was no automatic monitoring. There was also something suspicious about the wastefree system. There was nothing like it anywhere in the world.

But a commission arrived at the plant in early August. The economic managers were ready with their "knight's move": The reconstruction, of course, is not complete, but we will be carrying out tests and we will stretch the new technology. The plant started operating at one-third capacity. The clouds began to gather again above the city.

"I've got it all on tape!" Vasilyev eagerly announced and switched on a four-hour recording made by someone at a scientific conference in Kirishi. Medical scientists from Angarsk, Ufa, Gorkiy, Leningrad, and Moscow spoke one after another, adding to the black picture of the protein-vitamin concentrates. Fungal infections, diseases of the lungs, bronchi, and skin, complications

during pregnancy, and problems with the immune system—a whole bunch of serious diseases had been found in workers at the country's first biochemical plants.

Plant discharges had been damaging people's health for 12 years. A very powerful allergen had been hitting the city at the rate of 2 metric tons a day. How many Kirishi locals had suffered? And how much longer would they have to suffer?

"More than one generation, perhaps. The trouble is that the weakened organism is now susceptible to other harmful factors, and we have more than enough of them too," V. Yesinovskiy, chief doctor at the Kirishi Rayon hospital, explained the situation. He had figures, facts, and tables. But this frankness would cost him dear.

How many invalids are there in the city as a result of the biochemical plant? Around 100, doctors claim. And another 4,000 or so are suffering from allergies which have a nasty tendency to get worse with time. Whether the statistics are complete no one knows. Local doctors have no specific means of diagnosis. It exists abroad. We do not produce it here. But without it, it is impossible to distinguish a mycogenic allergy caused by plant discharges from an ordinary one. Moreover, as Vasilyev found, medicines are also in horrifically short supply....

He flabbergasted a director of a local enterprise, whom he knew, with the request: "We need help with foreign currency!" The director raised his eyebrows, but when he understood what the mailman was concerned about he promised every support. But why should a mailman have to attend to such an important problem? Why is the Ministry of the Medical and Microbiological Industry forging ahead with the establishment of a harmful production unit while, at the same time, it is obviously in no hurry to start up the industrial production of essential pharmaceuticals? Is it perhaps because it is afraid that the true scale of the Kirishi affair might come to light? And perhaps not just the Kirishi affair?

In any event, they are trying hard to convince the inhabitants of Kirishi that it is the..."psychogenetic factor" which is to blame for everything. "The sickness rate in the city is no higher than in other areas!"—expert statements like this have been broadcast over local radio. You must be joking, citizens, there are places where the situation is much worse—is another familiar tune.

However, in official reports the selfsame experts from the Ministry of Health draw different conclusions. "Primary disablement as a result of respiratory ailments in Kirishi is twice as high as the average in the RSFSR, and the incidence of bronchial asthma and asthmatic bronchitis among children and adults is 5-10 times higher than in other rayon cities."

The Kirishi doctors' troubles began as soon as the Ministry of Health commission had left for the capital. The local authorities adopted a decision to fire, effective immediately, four leaders of the Kirishi Rayon hospital, headed by V. Yesinovskiy. And that despite the fact that the hospital had for many years been considered to be one of the best in the oblast.

Then the situation deteriorated even further. "Our doctors are telling the truth! They are not afraid of anyone! That is why reprisals have been taken against them!"—a thousands-strong crowd shouted at yet another rally.

Meanwhile another commission arrived at the plant to start up the second production line. Six months of gigantic efforts which cost the state R1.5 million made it possible to reduce the amount of allergen discharged into the atmosphere to one-sixth of its former level. However, the minister who had publicly promised that not a single protein molecule would be released into the air had been too rash. Such a result is not possible even in theory!

Should the bombshell be dropped on the minister? Without waiting for an answer Vasilev took from the shelf a bulky file with a bomb warning sign on the cover, and next to it the same black-cross warning across... the letters BVK [protein-vitamin concentrate].

But that is going too far! In preparation for my trip to Kirishi I did a certain amount of reading. "The feed yeast paprin, or in other words the protein-vitamin concentrate obtained from petroleum paraffins, is a highly nutritive protein additive to livestock rations...."

"No need for eulogies!"—Vasilyev said, quickly leafing though his file noting down the size of the losses on a piece of paper. "Vsevolozhskiy," "Vyborgskiy," "Krasnyy Seyatel," "Roshchinskiy," "Ruchyi," and then came Belorussian farms—the livestock deaths caused by feed yeast from Kirishi ran into the thousands. Therefore, in spring last year, a telephone message went out as an SOS to sovkhozes from the Leningrad Oblast Agroprom: "Henceforth mixed feed containing the protein-vitamin concentrate is no longer to be fed to hogs as of now...."

In one year alone Leningrad farms have refused to accept 2,000 tonnes of the protein-vitamin concentrate, which represents almost one-fifth of the allocated resources. The excess has evidently been off-loaded to fur-breeding sovkhozes, the idea being that the animals could not possibly lose their fur. The minks did not go bald, of course, they simply died. The "Roshchinskiy" fur breeding farm is suing the Kirichi biochemical plant for R60,000.

However, it did not prove that easy to explode the bombshell-file. The biochemists took refuge behind the State Standard, claiming that their output met the regulations, and they managed every time to get away unscathed. It goes without saying that after every such incident a commission was sent to the relevant sovkhozes, all kind of documents were drawn up, bans were signed, but no really scientific evidence against the

protein-vitamin concentrate was raised by the animal specialists. "This is a scientific question!"—they shrugged their shoulders. "And science does not object!"

Meanwhile Vasilyev's group, having mobilized its engineers, decided to throw light on this murky matter. The thread led to the scandal involving the Belorussian agroprom which broke off all partnership relations with the Kirishi biochemical plant because of the "self-contamination " of the feed yeast.... The plant's equipment is causing serious concern even now, after the reconstruction....

It appears that back in 1975 the journal CHEMICAL ENGINEERING [title given in English] wrote that Italian, French, and Japanese health authorities had banned the production of feed protein from petroleum paraffins as a consequence of environmental pollution and the possible harmful effects on people's health.

Entering a new stage of its quest, the Vasilyev group, with the help of Doctor Yesinovskiy, sifted through a mountain of scientific literature. It appears that as long as 20 years ago it was established that animals given large doses of paprin show serious blood and internal organ abnormalities and in the second and third generation, even if the doses are reduced, fertility and the organism's immunological resistance are reduced.

"Nonetheless, honest scientists do exist!"—Vasilyev read out aloud the conclusions reached by Candidate of Veterinary Sciences A. Stolirova. "The irreversible changes in the liver, kidney, and intestines of pigs are of an allergic nature and arise after only 3 months of adding paprin to the feed in prescribed doses." Is it possible to trust this research? In any case, these data have been obtained by means of light and electron microscopy. At the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences Food Institute the conclusion was reached 20 years ago that: "The use of the said products (i.e. meat obtained from animals whose feeds included paprin—S.R.) is undesirable for sick people, especially people with stomach and intestinal diseases...." And why?

Maybe another stunning document which Vasilyev managed to obtain from the All-Union Center for Serious Mycoses will provide the answer to this question: "An analysis of the fluid taken from a chicken embryo and used to make vaccine showed traces of paprin." Do not such products act as a secondary allergen in people? So far this question too remains unanswered....

"So I'm off," Vasilyev said, placing the bombshell-file in a black case and setting out for the State Committee for Environmental Protection. In his opinion it is now up to the capital's experts.

Mailman Vasilyev did not return to Kirishi. His residence permit has been withdrawn. However, positive trends have appeared in the response to the Kirishi opposition. The oblast prosecutor's office is thoroughly investigating the biochemical plant....

Visa Official on Changes in Entry, Exit Rules

LD161559 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1430 GMT 16 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, 16 Mar—TASS correspondent Nikita Demidov reports:

Fifty-two of the people who in the past 2 years have left the USSR for permanent residence in Israel have returned to Moscow. This was announced today at a briefing for journalists by Sergey Apatov, head of the Visas and Registration Administration (UVIR) of the Main Administration of the Moscow militia [name and title as received].

He said all who have returned to the USSR have been given jobs according to their qualifications, and those who have reached the appropriate age are receiving pensions. The head of administration announced that more than 82 percent of Soviet citizens' requests for exit for permanent residence in Israel are now being satisifed. To date, about 200 applications for exit to that country have been turned down. As far as exit for permanent residence in other capitalist countries is concerned, 86 people have been refused on grounds of state security. But at the end of a certain period of time, all these people will be able to apply to UVIR again and count on a positive solution of the question.

Restrictions connected with exist to Israel, Apatov announced, have now been considerably cut. "The hullabaloo created around this by those who have been refused exit permits is practically always totally unfounded," the head of administration said." For instance, in Moscow there is a group of people of Jewish nationality, "poor relations" [bednyye rodstvenniki], whose members claim that they are allegedly refused reunification with their families. In actual fact, many members of the group are in this way trying to avoid paying alimony or to "disown" illegitimate children. Under Soviet law, they are not given an exit permit before settlement of all material questions relating to families.

Apatov noted that the democratization of Soviet legislation has involved many questions connected with entry into the USSR and exit therefrom. For instance, the state duty imposed on exit to capitalist and developing countries has been halved. It now amounts to 200 rubles. While previously several questionnaires had to be filled in order to invite relatives to the USSR from socialist countries, now an application only has to be made to UVIR, and it must be examined in the course of a month.

Paper Recalls 'Loyal Son' Falsely Accused
PM161025 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 27 Feb 88 p 2

[Article by Doctor of Historical Sciences K. Bukov, deputy director of the Party History Institute of Moscow CPSU Gorkom and Obkom: "Talent Devoted to the Revolution. To Mark the 110th Anniversary of M.S. Kedrov's Birth"]

[Excerpts] Mikhail Sergeyevich Kedrov never used to celebrate his birthdays. Only in February 1938, on his 60th birthday, at a time when many representatives of the Leninist Bolshevik guard had departed this life or been imprisoned as a result of the repressions, did he gather his relatives and friends at his home. M.S. Kedrov dedicated that evening to the memory of Vladimir Ilich Lenin. He played several times on his white grand piano Lenin's favorite works—Beethoven sonatas and Schubert's "Erlkoenig." [passage omitted]

Mikhail Sergeyevich Kedrov's life was unexpectedly cut short. He was arrested in April 1939. But neither serious illness nor threats broke the loyal Leninist's will and firmness. He proved that a false charge had been fabricated against him. How are we to understand and account for the extraordinary fact that the Supreme Court Military Collegium completely vindicated him, but he was not released? Kedrov died in October 1941.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Kedrov's entire life was devoted until his final breath to the Communist Party, the people, and the revolution. Soviet people remember their loyal son. In 1963 a street in a southwest rayon of Moscow was named for Kedrov. The memory of Mikhail Kedrov also lives on in Leningrad and Arkhangelsk, where there are also streets that bear his name.

Economic

Draft Law on Cooperative System
PM141701 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Mar 88 Second Edition pp 2-5

["USSR Draft Law on the Cooperative System in the USSR"; boldface as published]

[Text] In accordance with the USSR Constitution this law defines the economic, organizational, and legal conditions for cooperatives' activities on the basis of the development of Lenin's ideas on the cooperative system with regard to the contemporary stage in the building of socialism in the USSR.

The law is designed to reveal the immense potential of the cooperative system, to boost its role in the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development, to step up the process of the democratization of economic life, to give new impetus to the kolkhoz movement, and to create the conditions for involving extensive sections of the population in cooperatives. It is aimed at ensuring the greatest possible utilization of cooperative forms to meet the growing demands of the national economy and the population for food, consumer goods, various technical production products [produktsiya proizvodstvenno-tekhnicheskogo naznacheniya], jobs, and services. The law lays down the fundamental principles for the development of cooperative democracy, defines the relationship between the state and the cooperative system, guarantees cooperatives a free choice of the forms of their economic activity, opens up extensive scope for initiative and self-management, and enhances the responsibility of cooperative members for the results of their work.

The law guarantees citizens the right of **voluntarily** joining and leaving cooperatives and participating in the administration of all the cooperative's work; the **autonomy** of collective economic management and the independence of the cooperative in making decisions on the fulfillment of its statutory tasks; and **social justice and social equality** in the right to work, personal income corresponding to the amount and quality of work, and social security.

The Law on the Cooperative System in the USSR is aimed at ensuring equal collaboration between the state and the kolkhoz-cooperative sectors of the socialist economy and promotes the further development of the USSR's political and economic systems.

I. The Socialist Cooperative System and its Place in the Country's Economy [section subhead]

Article 1. **The cooperative system in the system of socialist social relations.**

1. Socialist cooperatives are a constantly developing and progressive form of socially useful activity. They open up extensive opportunities for citizens to use their strength and knowledge for the purpose of productive work in accordance with each person's vocation, desire, and abilities, to earn income depending on the amount and quality of their work and their contribution to the end results of the cooperative's activity, and to meet the demands of its members.

2. Under the conditions of the USSR's political and economic systems and given the leading role of the state (nationwide) form of ownership the comprehensive development of the cooperative movement is aimed at making fuller use of the potential and advantages of socialism, at augmenting social wealth, at saturating the market with high-quality goods and services, at making those goods and services cheaper, and at the increasingly full satisfaction of Soviet people's material and spiritual needs. 3. The state, on the basis of the great importance of the cooperative system for the economic and social development of society, the rational utilization of material and labor resources, and the deepening of the democratization process, supports the cooperative movement

in every possible way, promotes its expansion, and guarantees that the rights and legitimate interests of cooperatives and their members will be observed.

4. Cooperative enterprises (organizations), henceforth known as "cooperatives," together with state enterprises (associations) are the main component in the unified national economic complex. Work in cooperatives is honorable and prestigious and is encouraged in every possible way by the state.

5. The cooperative system in the USSR gives cooperative members real opportunities and provides a material incentive for them to improve efficient economic management based on the independent development and implementation by cooperatives of their production plans, the distribution and sale of goods, the execution of work, the provision of services, and the implementation of other kinds of activity, as well as to improve the social conditions of the collective's life.

The activity of cooperatives, their high labor productivity, and their remuneration system are designed to give an incentive to the development of economic competition and competitiveness in the market for goods, jobs, and services both among cooperatives and between cooperatives on the one hand and state enterprises and organizations on the other hand, and to promote the improvement of the efficiency of economic management in every possible way.

Article 2. **The cooperative system, types of cooperative.**

1. The consistent development of the cooperative movement in the country is turning the cooperative system into a broadly ramified system organically linked with the state sector of the economy and the population's individual labor activity.

Cooperatives can be set up and can operate in agriculture—where they predominantly take the form of kolkhozes—in industry, construction, transportation, trade, public catering, the paid services sphere, and other sectors of production and sociocultural life.

Cooperatives are entitled to engage in any kind of activity save those prohibited under the law.

2. Two main kinds of cooperative—production cooperatives and consumer cooperatives—function within the socialist cooperative system.

Production cooperatives produce goods, products, and jobs and also provide paid services to enterprises, organizations, and citizens.

They are created and operate for the production, procurement, processing, and sale of agricultural output and technical production commodities; the manufacture of consumer goods; the collection and processing of secondary raw materials; the extraction of useful minerals; the repair and servicing of equipment; the provision of services to production, highway, and housing construction, the retail trade, public catering, and consumer services; the organization of cultural leisure and medical aid; and the provision of legal, transport, forwarding, scientific research, planning, design, consultancy, and other services.

The activities of these cooperatives are based on the individual labor participation of their members.

Consumer cooperatives meet the requirements of their members and other citizens for trade and consumer services and the requirements of cooperative members for housing, dachas, garden plots, garages and parking lots for vehicles, and sociocultural and other services. Alongside these functions consumer cooperatives may also develop diverse production activity—that is, they may be mixed cooperatives.

Article 3. **The main tasks of the cooperative system.**

1. The central function of cooperatives' activity is to meet the requirements of the national economy and the population for food, consumer goods, technical production output, jobs, and services with high consumer qualities, to develop the labor and social activeness of cooperative members, and to boost their material prosperity, cultural standards, and professional skills.

To resolve these tasks within the cooperative system production is being developed and its efficiency improved, the quality of the work being carried out and the services provided is being enhanced, labor productivity is being boosted, local raw materials are being employed in economic turnover to the greatest possible extent, and waste-free and resource-saving technologies are being introduced.

2. The cooperative system increases the number of people engaged in socially useful work, attracts additional labor resources to the production of goods (and the execution of jobs and services) and also creates conditions for citizens who are not cooperative members to participate in cooperatives' activity on a contractual basis in their spare time.

3. Operating on the principles of self-financing, cooperatives through their income improve the living standards of cooperative members and their families, resolve social tasks, create favorable opportunities for highly productive work, protect their members' property interests and social rights, and participate in the shaping of the state budget.

II. Cooperatives—The Primary Component of the Cooperative System in the USSR [section subhead]

Article 4. **The socialist cooperative enterprise (organization).**

1. The cooperative is a public organization of Soviet citizens in voluntary association on a membership basis to jointly conduct economic and other activity based on property legally belonging to them, rented, or provided for their use, autonomy, self-management, and self-financing, as well as the material interest of cooperative members and the fullest possible combination of their interests with the interests of the collective and society.

2. Cooperatives, as the primary component of the cooperative system in the USSR, are called upon to actively participate in the country's economic and social development and the attainment of the supreme goal of social production under socialism—the fullest possible satisfaction of people's growing material and spiritual needs.

3. In the interests of the implementation of the tasks and powers laid down under this law, cooperatives are entitled to make any decisions provided such decisions do not contravene existing legislation. A cooperative is a legal entity, enjoys the rights and fulfills the duties linked with its activity, and has an independent budget.

4. The following structural subunits may be set up within a cooperative (including territorially distinct subunits): divisions, shops, livestock units, workshops, studios, stores, and other subunits operating, as a rule, on a collective, family, or individual contract basis, which may include the leasing of property.

Article 5. **Cooperatives' labor collectives.**

1. Cooperative members participating through their labor in its activity, and people working in a cooperative on the basis of a labor contract make up the cooperative's labor collective. The labor collective carries out its activity in accordance with the USSR law on labor collectives and the enhancement of their role in the administration of enterprises, institutions, organizations, and cooperatives' statutes.

2. The cooperative molds a labor collective able to achieve high end results under the conditions of full economic accountability [khozyaystvennyy raschet] and self-financing, shows concern to improve the professional skills of cooperative members and the other persons working in the cooperative, and distributes work between them bearing in mind their skills and the cooperative's economic interests.

3. The cooperative's party organization, as the political nucleus of the collective, operates within the framework of the USSR Constitution, directs the work of the entire collective and the trade union, Komsomol, and other public organizations, and monitors the activity of the cooperative's board (chairman).

4. The cooperative's social organizations promote the enhancement of the production initiative and social activeness of labor collective members and boost their political self-awareness, their proprietorial sense, and their responsibility for the results of economic management.

5. Socioeconomic decisions concerning the cooperative's activity are worked out and adopted by its administrative organs with the participation of the labor collective and the party, trade union, Komsomol, and other social organizations operating within it in accordance with their statutes and legislation.

Article 6. **The cooperative's property.**

1. A cooperative's property consists of the means of production and other property which it may need to carry out its statutory tasks. Cooperatives may own buildings, installations, machines, equipment, means of transport, productive and working livestock, finished output, goods, funds, and other property in accordance with the aims of their activity.

2. A cooperative's property is formed by the monetary and material dues paid by its members, the output they produce, the income generated by output sales and other activities, revenue from the sale of shares or other securities issued by the cooperative, and bank credit. Cooperative and state enterprises (organizations) as well as citizens who are not members of a given cooperative but who work in it under labor contract may participate in forming the cooperative's property by way of contributions of money and materials.

3. A cooperative's property consists of the property of the enterprises and organizations created by it, along with the property of interfarm enterprises and organizations in proportion to their shareholding [dolevoye uchastiye].

The property of associations comprised of cooperatives and state enterprises and organizations is the joint property of the state and the cooperatives.

The property of associations comprised solely of cooperatives belongs to those cooperatives under the right of joint ownership.

4. The cooperative, as the rightful owner of the property belonging to it and being used by it, is obliged to augment it, efficiently utilize it, and safeguard it. Nobody is entitled to use cooperative property for personal gain or for other mercenary ends.

Article 7. **The use by cooperatives of natural resources and property that they do not own.**

1. Cooperatives use land and other natural resources under the procedure laid down by USSR and union republic legislation. Cooperatives are responsible for observing demands and carrying out measures to ensure

the rational utilization and safeguarding of the land, water, mineral resources, forests, and other natural resources allocated to them.

2. Cooperatives are obliged to ensure the effective utilization of land, to show constant concern to improve its fertility, to use it carefully in accordance with the aims for which it was allocated, to protect the environment from pollution and other harmful influences, and to organize production based on waste-free technologies.

Through their own funds and credits cooperatives carry out nature conservation measures to compensate for the detrimental affect of production on the environment. In individual cases these measures may be financed through central sources.

A cooperative which blatantly violates the established procedures for the use of nature may, under the procedure laid down by USSR and union republic legislation, have its activities suspended until the violations are eradicated.

3. To implement their statutory tasks cooperatives are entitled to use property allocated to them by state, cooperative, or other social enterprises, organizations, and citizens on a contractual basis.

With the consent of the enterprises, organizations, and citizens granting it use of their property, a cooperative may acquire the buildings, premises, equipment, and other property relating to fixed assets that have been allocated to it.

Article 8. **The legal protection of cooperatives' property.**

1. Cooperative ownership as a form of socialist ownership is inviolable and is protected by the state. It enjoys legal protection on a par with state ownership. A cooperative's property may be confiscated or transferred to state, cooperative, or other enterprises, organizations, and citizens only with the consent of a general meeting of its members or at the decision of a court or arbitration.

2. The right to disposal of property belongs to the cooperative alone. A cooperative's property may not be diverted for aims unconnected with its statutory activity.

3. Cooperatives are entitled:

to sell to other enterprises, organizations, or citizens, to exchange, to lease, to lend, or to transfer for free temporary use buildings, installations, equipment, means of transport, stocks, raw materials, and other material assets, and to write off fixed assets provided they are worn out or obsolescent;

to transfer on a contractual basis material and monetary resources to other enterprises, organizations, and citizens producing output or carrying out work and services for the cooperative.

4. Cooperatives are independently liable for all the property belonging to them, including fixed assets. The state is not responsible for cooperatives' liabilities. Cooperatives are not responsible for the liabilities of the state or their members. Members of a cooperative are not responsible for its debts, save where envisaged by existing legislation or the cooperative's statutes.

Article 9. **The principles of a cooperative's activity.**

1. Cooperatives' activities are based on the principles of voluntary membership of and unhindered withdrawal from the cooperative, the combination of personal, collective, and state interests, economic autonomy, material interest, social justice, and the direct participation of cooperative members in running the cooperative's affairs on the basis of cooperative democracy and socialist legality.

2. Interference in the economic or other activity of a cooperative by state or higher cooperative organs is not permitted, save where envisaged by this law.

Losses incurred by the cooperative as a result of the fulfillment of directives from state or higher cooperative organs that violated the cooperative's rights, or as a consequence of the improper fulfillment by higher cooperative organs of their obligations with respect to the cooperative, shall be reimbursed by these organs. Disputes over reimbursement of losses shall be decided by the courts or arbitration.

3. With a view to making more efficient use of production potential and expanding production and sales of goods and services cooperatives may, on their own initiative or at the suggestion of local soviets and other organizations, pool some of their funds with the funds of state, cooperative, or other public enterprises and organizations.

Cooperatives are entitled to participate:

in the joint fulfillment of work linked with the modernization and retooling of enterprises and production facilities, the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, the improvement of output quality, the development of consumer goods production, and the provision of services to the population;

in the creation of intersectorial production facilities, and repair, construction, trade, and other enterprises and associations;

in the construction and operation of agricultural projects, housing, and other production, social, cultural, and consumer projects;

and in the training of specialists and the creation of production training enterprises.

To implement the aforesaid and other joint activity cooperatives shall conclude contracts which stipulate the resolution of questions linked with the organization and activity of joint enterprises and organizations.

Soviets of people's deputies and other state organs shall provide assistance to cooperatives in the development of joint enterprises and organizations and promote the implementation of the rights granted to cooperatives in this sphere.

Article 10. **The creation of a cooperative and its statutes.**

1. Citizens may set up cooperatives exclusively on a voluntary basis as and when they wish to do so. The creation of a cooperative is not contingent on any special permission from soviet, economic, or other organs. Cooperatives shall be considered to exist from the moment their statutes—which are the fundamental documents regulating their activities—are registered. The statutes are adopted by a general meeting of those citizens wishing to set up a cooperative. A cooperative cannot have fewer than three members.

2. A cooperative's statutes shall be registered with the local rayispolkom, gorispolkom, or city rayispolkom at the site of the cooperative's permanent organ.

If a cooperative is set up under a state or cooperative enterprise or organization the registration of its statutes shall require the consent of the said enterprise or organization.

3. In cases when the cooperative requires a plot of land or other natural resources to pursue its activities, the registration of its statutes shall require the consent of the corresponding state organ or primary user.

4. A cooperative's statutes shall be examined by the executive committee of the corresponding soviet of people's deputies within 1 month of presentation for registration.

Rayispolkoms, gorispolkoms, and city rayispolkoms are only entitled to refuse registration of a cooperative's statutes in the event of their contravening existing legislation.

An appeal against a refusal to register a cooperative's statutes may be lodged with the executive committee of the superior soviet of people's deputies, autonomous republic council of ministers, council of ministers of a republic without oblast divisions, or with the courts.

5. A cooperative's statutes define: the name of the cooperative, its location, the subject and aim of its activity, the rights and duties of cooperative members, the cooperative's management and control organs, their competence, the procedure for shaping the cooperative's property and distributing its income (profits), the grounds for expulsion from the cooperative and the procedure pertaining thereto, and the conditions for reorganizing and ending the cooperative's activity. The statutes may also include other provisions—linked with features of the cooperative's activity—which do not contravene legislation.

6. Changes and amendments to the cooperative's statutes made at the decision of the general meeting of its members shall be registered following the procedure and within the period laid down by this article.

Article 11. **Membership of the cooperative.**

1. Membership of a cooperative is open to all citizens aged 16 or above—unless stipulated to the contrary under USSR and union republic legislation—who express a desire and have the ability to participate in the implementation of a cooperative's aims and tasks.

In cases envisaged by this law and the cooperative's statutes, other cooperatives and state and social enterprises and organizations may also be collective members of cooperatives.

2. A citizen may simultaneously be a member of production and consumer cooperatives. A member of a production cooperative which is the member's main place of work may participate in another production cooperative in his or her spare time on a membership basis. Persons working at a state enterprise or an organization may be members of only one production cooperative and may participate in its activity in their spare time.

Citizens are entitled to be members of several different types of consumer cooperatives, but cannot simultaneously be members of two or more consumer cooperatives of the same type, unless stipulated to the contrary by legislation.

3. Disputes over cases arising out of membership relations shall be decided by the cooperative's organs under the procedure laid down by its statutes, or by the courts in cases covered by USSR or union republic legislation.

4. A member of a cooperative may be expelled from the cooperative on the decision of its general meeting in cases laid down by the statutes.

A court appeal may be lodged against expulsion from a cooperative.

5. Persons subject to a court order prohibiting them from engaging in certain activity or from taking certain jobs cannot be members of a cooperative engaging in the said activity, cannot be involved in work in that cooperative under a labor agreement, and cannot take up corresponding positions within the cooperative.

Persons with convictions for embezzlement, bribery, and other mercenary crimes cannot occupy leading positions within a cooperative or positions linked with material responsibility.

Article 12. **The rights and duties of cooperative members.**

1. Members of all types of cooperatives are entitled:

to participate in the activity of the cooperative and the administration of its affairs; to elect and be elected to the cooperative's administrative and control organs; and to submit proposals for improving the cooperative's activity and eradicating shortcomings in the work of its organs and officials;

to obtain a share of the income (profit) distributed among cooperative members in accordance with their labor input and also, in cases stipulated by the statutes, in accordance with their contribution of property to the cooperative;

to use the cooperative's property and to enjoy the benefits and privileges envisaged for cooperative members;

and to obtain from cooperative officials information on any question concerning the cooperative's activity.

Furthermore, members of production cooperatives are entitled:

to obtain work at the cooperative, including the right to choose their trade and type of activity in accordance with their vocation, abilities, vocational training, and education, bearing in mind the needs of the cooperative;

to leisure guaranteed by days off and annual paid leave lasting not less than the period laid down for corresponding categories of workers and employees;

to social security;

and to cultural and consumer services and the satisfaction of other needs as laid down by the general meeting of cooperative members.

2. Members of all kinds of cooperatives are obliged:

to observe the statutes of the cooperative and to carry out the decisions of the cooperative's general meeting and elected management and control organs;

to carry out their commitments to the cooperative linked with their labor participation or property contribution to its activity;

to actively participate in the administration of affairs, to reveal shortcomings in the cooperative's work, and to strive to eradicate them;

and to safeguard and strengthen state and cooperative property and prevent a negligent and remiss attitude toward public property.

Furthermore, members of production cooperatives are obliged:

to use advanced forms and methods of work within the cooperative, to be responsible for the results of their work, to observe production and labor discipline and labor protection and equipment safety regulations, and to improve their qualifications;

and to rationally utilize and safeguard the natural resources allocated to the cooperative.

3. Cooperative members also have other rights and are subject to the obligations stipulated in the cooperative's statutes.

Article 13. **The running of the cooperative.**

1. Cooperatives are run on the basis of socialist self-management, extensive democracy, glasnost, and the active participation of their members in the resolution of all questions of cooperatives' activity.

2. A cooperative's supreme administrative organ is its general meeting, which elects a chairman to manage day-to-day affairs and also elects a board in large cooperatives. Citizens working in the cooperative under a labor agreement participate in the general meeting on a consultative basis.

3. The general meeting:

adopts the cooperative's statutes and makes changes and amendments to them;

elects the cooperative's chairman, board, and auditing commission and hears the reports of their activity;

resolves questions of admissions to cooperative membership and withdrawals and expulsions from the cooperative;

adopts and alters the rules governing the cooperative's internal procedures, the situation relating to pay, and other of the cooperative's internal acts;

determines the size of initial and regular subscriptions as laid down by the cooperative's statutes;

ratifies the plans for the cooperative's activity and the reports on their execution;

establishes the procedure for distribution of income (profits), the type and size of the cooperative's assets and the areas into which they are channeled, and examines questions of price setting;

and resolves questions of the reorganization and ending of the cooperative's activity and its entry into and withdrawal from unions (associations).

Decisions on the aforesaid questions come under the exclusive purview of the cooperative's general meeting. In accordance with the cooperative's statutes or by decision of the general meeting its exclusive purview may also include other questions of the cooperative's organizational, economic, and social activity.

Large cooperatives may convene meetings of agents [upolnomochennyye] to resolve questions pertaining to holding the general meeting.

Article 14. **Unions (associations) of cooperatives.**

1. Cooperatives may on a strictly voluntary basis merge into activity-specific unions (associations) or territorial unions (associations).

2. The main tasks of unions (associations) of cooperatives are:

to develop cooperative democracy and collective discussion of the most important questions of cooperatives' activity; to generalize experience and draw up recommendations aimed at ensuring the fullest utilization of existing reserves and potential; and to propagandize the cooperative movement;

to promote improvements in production specialization; to coordinate cooperatives' activity; and to organize production sharing ties, material and technical supply, and output processing, storage, and sales;

to study the state of and prospects for developing the market for goods (jobs and services) in whose production and sale the cooperatives specialize;

to protect cooperatives' rights; to give them legal assistance; and to represent their interests at the appropriate state and other organs, and in international organizations;

and to give the necessary assistance to cooperatives in improving production, introducing the achievements of scientific and technical progress, advertising their products (jobs and services), training their cadres, and improving their cadres' qualifications.

3. Unions (associations) of cooperatives shall be set up at congresses or meetings of cooperatives' delegates (agents), the frequency of these assemblies to be determined by these congresses and meetings.

Unions (associations) of cooperatives operate on the basis of their statutes as adopted by congresses and meetings of cooperatives' delegates (agents).

The statutes of unions (associations) need not be registered with state organs.

Unions (associations) may own the property they need to fulfill their statutory tasks and carry out other kinds of activity.

The expense of maintaining the unions (associations) and their administrative staffs shall be met out of the income of the corresponding cooperatives and out of the income of the economic activity of the unions (associations) themselves.

III. The Economic Foundations of the Economic Mechanism in the Cooperative System [section subhead]

Article 15. **The foundations of cooperatives' economic activity.**

1. The activity of the cooperative system in the USSR is based on the principles of socialist economic management, self-financing, and the extensive utilization of commodity-money relations. Moreover, the cooperative form of production and distribution of products and income conditions the features of the economic mechanism in the cooperative system: in planning, price setting, pay, relations with the state budget and banks, and in material and technical backup.

2. Production cooperatives are economically independent collective socialist producers of goods. Operating on the principles of full economic accountability and self-financing, they define the thrust of their own activity and the scale and structure of production, implement production planning and organization, and sell output (jobs and services).

Consumer cooperatives enjoy complete economic independence in implementing their activity and cover their costs through the dues of cooperative members and income from the cooperative's economic activity.

3. A cooperative's economic and production relations with state, cooperative and other social enterprises, organizations, customers for its output (jobs and services), and suppliers of material and technical resources, and all its economic operations are implemented solely on a contract basis. The contract is the only legal and economic document that regulates all the cooperative's aforesaid economic and production relations.

The observance of contractual commitments and complete consideration for customers' interests are a most important demand on a cooperative's activity and a fundamental criterion by which the quality and efficiency of its work can be assessed. If contractual commitments are not observed the cooperative shall, under the procedure laid down, be materially liable and make good the damage incurred by the customer.

The conclusion of contracts is the exclusive domain of the cooperative and corresponding enterprises, organizations, and citizens. Interference by administrative organs

or officials in the establishment and implementation of contractual relations between a cooperative and other enterprises, organizations, or citizens is not permitted.

4. The reorganization (merging, unification, division, separation, or transformation) of a cooperative or the cessation of its activity is effected by decision of the general meeting.

A cooperative's activity can be halted by decision of a soviet ispolkom if its activity is at variance with legislation or its charter or if the cooperative is operating at a loss or is insolvent. An appeal against a decision halting a cooperative's activity can be lodged with the ispolkom of a higher soviet, the council of ministers of an autonomous republic, the council of ministers of a union republic which has no oblast division, or a court.

Article 16. **Planning**

1. A cooperative independently plans the production and financial activity and social development of the cooperative. Plans (or estimates of income and expenditure) are ratified by a general meeting of cooperative members.

A cooperative when drawing up its plans (or estimates of income and expenditure) proceeds on the basis of effective demand for its output, goods, work, and services and on the opportunities for generating the income necessary for production and social development and labor remuneration. Envisaged here are the effective use of land, other natural resources, and existing capacities, the application of progressive techniques, economical consumption of raw and other materials, energy, and fuel, a search for local and secondary resources and their introduction into economic circulation, a reduction in production and turnover costs, and growth in labor productivity.

Contracts concluded with consumers of goods (jobs and services) and suppliers of material and technical resources form the basis of the plans.

2. A cooperative has the right to voluntarily undertake to execute state orders, including those which involve competition with state and other enterprises and organizations. To execute a state order economic contracts are concluded with the relevant consumers of goods (jobs and services) and suppliers of material and technical resources.

Cooperatives play an active part in economic competition with state and other enterprises and organizations to win state orders, seeking to enhance the quality of their goods (jobs and services) and to reduce prime cost and prices (tariffs).

Cooperatives and their unions (associations) can participate in wholesale trade fairs and conclude contracts with consumers for the supply of goods and with suppliers for the purchase of material and technical resources.

3. When drawing up its plans a cooperative utilizes the long-term economic normatives set by the state: the price levels for goods produced and sold under contracts for the execution of a state order, tax rates, the interest rate on bank loans, the normatives for payment for natural resources, payments for discharging pollutants into the environment, and the normatives for deductions paid into the state social insurance fund. No other economic normatives or initial planning data are prescribed for cooperatives.

On questions concerning the use of natural resources cooperatives agree their plans with local soviet ispolkoms.

4. To ensure comprehensiveness in the drawing up of plans for the production of goods (jobs and services) and the coordination of its activity with other enterprises and organizations on its territory or in its sector a cooperative reports to the relevant organ of administration or enterprise (organization) under which it has been set up the indicators for the volume of projected production and the sale of goods (jobs and services), income, expenditure, and so forth.

In so doing a cooperative is able to resolve with the relevant state and cooperative management organs, enterprises, and organizations questions concerning the provision of material and technical resources and contracted construction and installation work for the production of goods (jobs and services). The management organ together with the cooperatives operating on the territory (in the sector) in question ensures comprehensive coordination of cooperatives' proposals and takes them into account in the plans for the economic and social development of the relevant region (sector).

5. To produce more scientifically validated and balanced plans central economic organs and their republic-based organs, ministries, departments, union and autonomous republic councils of ministers, and local soviet ispolkoms provide for a cooperative, on its request, every possible assistance in the utilization of normative documents on the organization of production, labor, and capital construction and the implementation of measures designed to make economical use of material and financial resources and measures affecting other areas of cooperatives' activity.

Article 17. **Prices and Price Formation.**

1. Prices and tariffs for a cooperative's goods and services must reflect the socially necessary cost involved in producing and selling goods and consider the customer appeal and quality of the goods, work, and services and consumer demand. They must be based on the mutual interests of cooperatives, consumers, and the national economy as a whole and must help promote the development of economic accountability and self-financing. A cooperative must not allow economically unjustified price rises.

2. A cooperative sells its own output and goods, carries out work, and provides services at prices and tariffs set by the cooperative by agreement with consumers or independently. The prices (tariffs) set in trade relations between cooperatives and the consumers of their goods (jobs and services) are intended to influence the economic interests of cooperatives and provide incentives to enhance product quality, improve production techniques and organization, and lower production costs. Competition in the goods (jobs and services) market should help reduce the cost of producing goods and their prices.

3. Goods (jobs and services) produced in accordance with contracts to fill a state order and also goods manufactured from raw material supplied to the cooperative out of state resources are sold to procurement and other enterprises (organizations) and citizens at centrally prescribed prices (tariffs). Retail prices for goods allocated to cooperatives out of state market funds for sale to the population are set according to the same procedure.

In applying the centrally fixed wholesale prices a cooperative agrees with a consumer (purchaser) on any additional charge (discount) to these prices for carrying out extra requirements to enhance the consumer qualities and batching of the output, to meet delivery deadlines, and for other conditions.

4. State monitoring of prices (tariffs) is carried out in cases where a cooperative's goods (jobs and services) are sold to enterprises and organizations under a contract to fill a state order or are manufactured from raw materials supplied to the cooperative out of state resources and also where a cooperative sells goods allocated out of state market funds. If a cooperative raises the prices of its goods (jobs and services) excessively, income unjustifiably derived thereby is forfeited to the budget and the consumer is entitled to cancel the contract for their supply.

Article 18. **Income and Its Distribution.**

1. A cooperative by virtue of its socioeconomic nature is a self-capitalizing enterprise (organization). Loss-making work is incompatible with its nature.

A cooperative's income is based on its receipts from the sale of goods (jobs and services). Material expenditure is paid for out of the receipts from the sale of the cooperative's goods (jobs and services). Gross income is used by the cooperative to meet its budgetary and banking obligations and is channeled toward increasing output, carrying out social measures, and remunerating labor.

The allocation of gross income for production and social development and labor remuneration is the exclusive right of the general meeting of cooperative members. Here special attention must be paid to ensuring an economically validated correlation between the resources directed toward production development and labor remuneration.

2. A cooperative independently determines the kinds and size of funds and reserves as well as the procedure for setting them up and using them. Higher cooperative organs (unions, associations) do not set the cooperative normatives for the formation of funds.

3. Deductions are paid into the centralized funds and reserves of unions (associations) of cooperatives according to long-term stable normatives. The normatives for deductions are fixed on a democratic basis by meetings of representatives of cooperatives. It is they who determine the procedure for utilizing the resources in the aforementioned funds and reserves and where they are to be used.

Interference by organs of state and economic management in the formation and use of the centralized funds and reserves of cooperative unions (associations) is prohibited.

Article 19. **Taxation of Income in Cooperatives.**

1. A cooperative participates in the formation of the state budget by paying taxes and making other payments. Taxation provides an incentive to a cooperative to choose effective areas of activity, production structure and techniques, and ways of earning income, and ensures that the principle of social justice is exercised in their determination.

The taxation system must provide for a differentiated approach to fixing taxes dependent on the kinds of cooperatives and the aims of their activity.

2. A cooperative's income (profit) and the personal income of cooperative members and people working in it under a labor contract are liable to tax.

To increase a cooperative's interest in boosting output, its income (profit) is taxed at fixed rates set, as a rule, for a period of 5 years.

To ensure an economically expedient correlation is ensured between the resources a cooperative directs toward production and social development and labor remuneration, the taxation rates for the personal incomes of members of a cooperative and people working in it under a labor contract are fixed on a progressive scale.

To provide incentive for the production of goods (jobs and services) needed by the population and the national economy the USSR Council of Ministers can establish income tax benefits for a collective or the people working in it.

If part of the income (profit) of a cooperative is contributed to the Soviet Children's Fund named for V.I. Lenin, the Soviet Peace Fund, or the Soviet Culture Fund, or put to other charitable purposes, it is exempt from tax.

3. A cooperative engaged in providing services to its members while simultaneously producing goods (jobs and services) generating a monetary income is taxed on that income on the terms fixed for production cooperatives.

4. To increase local soviets' interest in boosting cooperatives' activity, arranging new jobs, and improving the population's supply of consumer goods and services, the taxes on the income of a cooperative and its members are wholly paid into local budgets and are used for the economic and social development of the relevant territories.

5. The cooperative shall strictly observe tax discipline. In the event of deliberate concealment or understatement of taxable income the whole sum of the concealed income is confiscated from the cooperative into the budget and a fine is also levied on a scale fixed by USSR legislation.

On repeated concealment (understating) of income the relevant financial organ is entitled to refer to the local soviet ispolkom the question of the cessation of the cooperative's activity.

Article 20. **The cooperative's finances.**

1. A cooperative's activity must be directed toward consolidating its financial position by boosting its output of goods (jobs and services), increasing labor productivity, lowering prime cost, and enhancing the quality of goods (jobs and services).

A cooperative's financial resources take the form of receipts from the sale of goods (jobs and services), depreciation allowances, share and other fees paid by individual and collective members of the cooperative and people working in the cooperative on a labor contract, credits, and resources derived from the sale of securities (shares).

2. A cooperative uses the financial resources at its disposal for production and social development as it sees fit, without restriction and irrespective of their origin.

In giving financial support to a cooperative the state may appropriate resources from the budget for the capital construction of production and nonproduction facilities on a returnable basis.

3. A cooperative may insure its property with the USSR State Committee for State Insurance to create a stable financial position and recover losses suffered as a result of natural disasters and other unforeseen circumstances independent of its activity. Insurance is effected voluntarily by decision of the general meeting of the cooperative.

4. To mobilize the spare monetary resources possessed by members of a cooperative or persons working in it under a labor contract and by enterprises and organizations and utilize them as an extra source for financing the expansion, modernization, and retooling of production and the switch to production of new goods (jobs and services) enjoying enhanced demand, cooperatives and their unions (associations) can issue shares for sale to members of the cooperative and people working in it under a labor contract and to enterprises (organizations).

Shares are issued by a cooperative or union (association) of cooperatives according to the procedure defined under USSR legislation and are secured by their total property. The overall value of shares must not, as a rule, exceed gross annual income.

Cooperative members enjoy a preferential right of share purchase.

A cooperative or union (association) of cooperatives sets the invariable nominal value of shares for the entire period of their circulation and the procedure for paying the annual share dividend.

The annual dividend rate can be modified by a general meeting of the collective in which shareholders participate dependent on the level of income and the tasks facing the cooperative.

Authorization to issue shares is granted to a cooperative or union (association) of cooperatives by the relevant financial organ by agreement with an institution of the USSR Gosbank after verification of the cooperative's financial viability. In the event of refusal the financial organ furnishes the cooperative or union (association) a valid explanation. An appeal against the refusal decision can be lodged with a higher financial organ.

The state bears no responsibility for the obligations undertaken by a cooperative in respect of the issuing and circulation of shares.

Article 21. **Credit and payments.**

1. Credit within the cooperative system helps strengthen a cooperative's financial position, promotes its development, and helps increase the production of consumer goods, technical production output, jobs, and services.

A newly created cooperative can be granted credit to organize its activity on preferential terms determined by the appropriate bank institution.

The cooperative has the right to open an account with institutions of the bank for monetary operations both at the site of the cooperative's location and at the place where its output (jobs and services) are sold. The cooperative is entitled to choose its own bank for credit and payment transactions.

2. A bank grants credit to a cooperative on the basis of contracts which define the sides' mutual commitments and responsibilities. The cooperative pays the bank a set rate of interest for the credit.

A banking institution keeps a cooperative's monetary resources in current and other accounts. The cooperative earns interest on credit balances in its bank accounts.

Banks provide a cash and account service to a cooperative and give it necessary help in organizing the conduct of its financial affairs.

To ensure that a cooperative is guaranteed the independent disposal of its own monetary resources, they can only be transferred from cooperative accounts on its own instruction or by decision of a court or board of arbitration.

A cooperative settles all its accounts, including payments into the budget and labor remuneration, in chronological order of receipt of settlement documents (on the payment-due date).

Cooperatives settle their accounts in respect of obligations to other enterprises, organizations, and citizens by credit transfer through credit institutions or by cash with no restriction on the amount of the payments.

A cooperative independently determines the upper limit of cash permanently available for routine expenditure.

3. The cooperative is obligated to strengthen settlement discipline. It bears full liability for the observance of credit agreements and settlement discipline. A cooperative that systematically fails to meet its settlement obligations may be declared insolvent by the bank. Until measures to improve the finances of the cooperative are taken the order of payments to meet the cooperatives' obligations is determined by the bank. Creditor-enterprises (-organizations) can stop delivering goods and providing services to a cooperative declared insolvent.

By way of exception a cooperative may receive credit if this is underwritten by the enterprise within which it was created or by a higher cooperative organ.

If a cooperative is unprofitable or insolvent a bank is entitled to raise at the local soviet ispolkom the question of the liquidation of the cooperative, with provision made for the property interests of all creditors in accordance with the set procedure.

4. A cooperative may use its own monetary resources to grant credit to other enterprises and organizations on terms defined by agreement of the sides, including agreement on the interest rate.

5. Unions (associations) of cooperatives have the right to set up economically accountable sectorial or territorial cooperative banks. A cooperative belonging to such a union (association) joins these banks on a voluntary basis.

A cooperative bank is a credit institution which provides monetary resources for a cooperative's development on democratic principles, carries out cash and account transactions, and represents the cooperative's interests in economic and financial organs. By contract with a cooperative or union (association) issuing securities (shares) a bank may carry out transactions relating to their sale and redemption and the payment of dividends on securities (shares).

Cooperative banks mobilize a cooperative's spare monetary resources on agreed terms. They may also use the resources of other enterprises (organizations) and citizens and take out loans from specialized USSR banks.

A cooperative bank may on a contractually agreed basis use its own resources to participate in a cooperative's economic activity.

A cooperative bank's charter is registered at the USSR Gosbank.

Unions (associations) may on agreement with the cooperatives belonging to them set up financial and accounting centers. A financial and accounting center acts as a single borrower and payer in respect of monetary obligations to the budget, banks, and other enterprises and organizations.

6. By decision of its general meeting a cooperative may invest part of its spare monetary resources in a state premium bond, bank certificates of deposit [sertifikaty], and other securities issued into circulation. Income derived from these transactions is at the cooperative's disposal.

Article 22. **Labor, its remuneration, and the social development of the cooperative.**

1. Labor in a cooperative is as socially significant as the labor of workers and employees in state and other enterprises, organizations, and establishments. Members of a cooperative and other workers in it enjoy the rights accorded citizens engaged in the state sector of the national economy.

2. A cooperative uses labor remuneration as a very important means of providing incentives to increase labor productivity, enhance product quality, and tighten up production and technological discipline.

A cooperative independently determines the forms of and systems for remunerating the labor of its members and other workers. Labor organization and remuneration is, as a rule, based on the principles of the collective, family, and individual contract and on the end results of work. Cooperative members' individual earnings are determined by their labor contribution and the size of that part of its gross income which is directed toward labor remuneration. There is no upper limit to earnings. Labor in a cooperative may be remunerated in both money and in kind.

A cooperative may employ under labor contact citizens who are not cooperative members with payment for their labor being agreed between the sides with no limitation on the size of earnings.

Citizens working in a cooperative retain their pension, study grant, and wages from their main job in full.

3. To ensure the consistent implementation of the principles of social justice the state regulates by means of taxation the size of the incomes of members of a cooperative and people working in it under labor contract so as to prevent unjustified earnings.

4. A cooperative independently determines measures of disciplinary responsibility for its members.

Disciplinary penalties, including dismissal, can be imposed on a cooperative chairman only by decision of the general assembly of cooperative members and on other of its leading leading workers by the cooperative board as well. No state or higher cooperative organs are entitled to impose disciplinary penalties on the chairman or other leading workers of a cooperative.

Together with material incentives, a cooperative makes extensive use of a system of moral incentive to achieve high production indicators and conscientious labor.

5. The length and division of the working day in a cooperative and the procedure for granting days off, including extra days, and other labor conditions are defined in the cooperative's regulations.

A cooperative carries out measures to ensure health and safety at work and also provides annual paid leave to cooperative members, guided by the provisions and norms laid down for state enterprises and organizations in the relevant sectors of the national economy.

6. Members of a cooperative who participate in it by their labor receive the same social insurance and social security benefits as workers and employees.

Pregnant members of a cooperative are granted lighter work while retaining the average earnings of their previous job as well as receiving the same length of prenatal and postnatal leave fixed for women who are workers or employees. A cooperative may stipulate extra leave for them. Women with young children have the requisite child-care facilities provided.

A cooperative fixes for members under 18 who take part in its work a shorter working day and other benefits provided for workers and employees under existing legislation.

By decision of its general meeting a cooperative is entitled to introduce additional social insurance benefits for its members out of its income.

7. A cooperative makes deductions out of its income into the state social insurance fund by the procedure and on the scale fixed by the USSR Council of Ministers to assure its members' social insurance and social security rights.

8. A vigorous social policy must be pursued as a very important avenue of the cooperative's activity. Questions concerning the cooperative's social development are decided by the general meeting. A cooperative shows concern to improve working and living conditions and to meet the interests and needs of its members, people working in it under labor contract, their families, and war and labor veterans. A cooperative builds living accomodations, preschool establishments, and other social facilities out of its own resources and may also lease or acquire such facilities from state enterprises (organizations). A cooperative conducts its social activity in close collaboration with the local soviet and the state organ that manages the sector of the national economy to which the cooperative by its activity belongs.

Article 23. **Economic incentives for scientific and technical progress.**

1. A cooperative's activity in the sphere of scientific and technical progress must be aimed at producing goods (jobs and services) that are competitive in the market. A cooperative is concerned to update its goods in timely fashion, adapting to meet the needs, requirements, and demands of consumers. To this end the cooperative raises its technical standards and improves its technology.

2. A cooperative has the right to enjoy the results of the work of academic and sectorial science and production, planning and design, and technological institutes on an equal footing with state sector enterprises and organizations on a contractual basis.

The state supports in every possible way the extensive use of the latest achievements of science and technology within the cooperative system and resolutely cuts short all actions by managerial organs and officials to hinder this process.

3. A cooperative is entitled to set up by itself or jointly with other enterprises (organizations) science, technology, and other creative collectives to carry out research and introduce scientific developments into production on a contract basis.

4. State organs shall examine a cooperative's proposals and requests for scientific research and experimental design work, make appropriate decisions on them, and do everything to assist their implementation on an economically accountable basis.

5. The quality of goods (jobs and services) is conclusive in assessing the results of a cooperative's activity and the introduction of the achievements of scientific and technical progress. Concern for the honor of its brand name

should be a matter of professional pride for every member of the collective. To enhance the quality of their goods and services and boost their competitiveness, cooperatives and their unions (associations) have the right to hold exhibitions and sales fairs for their products (jobs and services), to advertise their goods (jobs and services) extensively through the mass media, to issue publicity material, and establish their own trademarks.

The quality requirements for cooperative goods (jobs and services) and the necessary measures to ensure quality must satisfy USSR and union republic legislation on the quality of goods (jobs and services).

The cooperative must ensure the strict observance of state standards and other norms protecting the interests of state and consumers, particularly requirements guaranteeing people's health and safety and the protection of the environment.

During the period when new high-quality goods (jobs and services) involving increased production costs are being assimilated a cooperative may be allowed income tax benefits in line with the procedure prescribed by the USSR Council of Ministers.

State organs in conformity with their responsibilities strictly monitor a cooperative's observance of USSR and union republic legislation on the quality of goods (jobs and services).

Article 24. **Material and technical backup for the cooperative.**

1. A cooperative acquires its needed raw and semifinished materials, tools, equipment, and other goods wholesale from state and cooperative enterprises and organizations, kolkhoz markets, and the population, uses material resources obtained from customers (citizens, enterprises, and organizations) under contracts concluded with them, and also acquires goods in the state and cooperative retail trade network from a list established by the local soviet ispolkom. A cooperative has the right to choose the supplier of resources, with the exception of centrally distributed material and technical resources, and the form delivery takes.

2. A cooperative's production of goods (jobs and services) under contracts to execute a state order is backed up by centrally allocated material and technical resources.

3. To produce commodities and output and offer services a cooperative organizes, when need be, the production and processing of local raw materials and of minerals according to the set procedure, the collection and processing of secondary resources and waste products, subsidiary agricultural production, and the manufacture and repair of equipment, tools, and appliances, and its own after-sales service. To this end a cooperative may set up its own shops, sections, and other subdivisions.

4. A cooperative is entitled to acquire, exchange, lease, and loan from state and cooperative enterprises (organizations) unused buildings, premises, machinery, equipment, means of transport, and raw and other materials.

5. A cooperative producing consumer goods or offering services to the population pays for material and technical resources at wholesale prices with markups [povyshayushchiye koeffitsienty] or at retail prices; in their absence payment is at contract prices.

A cooperative specializing in manufacturing technical production goods and offering services to state enterprises and organizations purchases its raw and semifinished materials, tools, equipment, and goods at wholesale or contract prices.

Article 25. **A cooperative's foreign economic activity.**

1. Cooperatives and their unions (associations) play an active part in foreign economic activity, help strengthen the country's economy and enhance its international standing, accumulate foreign currency holdings, and create opportunities to speed up scientific and technical progress and increase the efficiency of cooperative production.

Foreign economic activity by cooperatives and their unions (associations) is carried out on the basis of currency self-capitalization and self-financing.

2. Major cooperatives engaged in production and their unions (associations) whose products are competitive on the foreign market may be granted in accordance with set procedure the right to actually carry out their own export and import transactions.

Other cooperatives carry out their transactions relating to the export and import of goods (jobs and services) on a contractual basis via the relevant foreign trade organizations.

Cooperatives and their unions (associations) are entitled to carry out foreign trade transactions with foreign cross-border trading partners in accordance with the set procedure.

3. To increase economic interest and responsibility and enhance independence in carrying out export and import transactions the foreign currency earnings of cooperatives and their unions (associations) from the export of goods (jobs and services) are, after state deductions have been made in line with the normatives set by the USSR Council of Ministers, at the cooperatives' disposal, cannot be confiscated, and may be held over for subsequent years.

Cooperatives and their unions (associations) may use foreign currency resources earned from the export of goods (jobs and services) to import the equipment, goods, raw and semifinished materials, and services

necessary to develop their production and increase commodity turnover, and to strengthen the sociocultural sphere's material and technical base.

Where a union (association) of cooperatives is authorized to directly carry out export and import transactions currency earnings from foreign economic activity are distributed, after state deductions have been made, in proportion to each cooperative member's contribution to those currency earnings. By general assent of the cooperatives belonging to a union (association) some of the foreign currency earned by them may be paid into the centralized fund of the union (association).

4. To speed up scientific and technical progress and enhance the competitiveness of their goods and services cooperatives engaged in production activity may set up joint enterprises and international associations and organizations with relevant organizations in CEMA countries and companies in capitalist and developing countries.

Cooperatives and their unions (associations) determine by agreement with their foreign partners the specialization of joint enterprises (organizations) and the volume and structure of production based on the effective demand for the goods (jobs and services) and the conditions of their sale, including prices. Joint enterprises (organizations) can be set up on the territory of the USSR and on the territory of foreign countries.

Cooperatives and their unions (associations) develop scientific and technical cooperation with relevant enterprises (organizations) in socialist countries, organize scienctific research, planning, design, and experimental work, set up international collectives of specialists, exchange scientific and technical documentation according to set procedures on mutually agreed terms, and provide assistance in cadre training.

5. For the purpose of developing efficient collaboration with cooperative organizations in other countries, cooperatives and their unions (associations) may, in accordance with their rules, participate in the activity of international cooperative organizations.

6. USSR banks may grant to cooperatives and their unions (associations) engaging in foreign economic activity credits in Soviet and foreign currency as well as in transfer rubles, which credits will be repaid using currency earnings and resources derived from the sale of imported output or other resources belonging to cooperatives and their unions (associations).

7. Cooperatives and their unions (associations) bear economic responsibility for the efficiency of their foreign economic activity and the rational utilization of currency resources in the interests of developing production. They are to compensate for damage caused through failure to meet export commitments and other contractual obligations using all their property and foreign currency resources, and are also to pay the foreign client fines and other sanctions in foreign currency using their foreign currency savings if the breach is their responsibility.

IV. The State and the Cooperative System [section subhead]

Article 26. **State Leadership of Cooperatives' Activity.**

1. The right proclaimed by the USSR Constitution of citizens to form cooperative organizations is guaranteed by the economic system of the USSR, by the recognition of the right of cooperatives to the ownership of the means of production and other property necessary for the performance of their statutory duties, and by comprehensive assistance from the state for the development of cooperative ownership.

2. The state guarantees the observance of the rights and legitimate interests of cooperatives and their members and ensures the correct correlation of the interests of cooperatives and the people as a whole.

State organs must give the maximum help in developing and strengthening the economic independence of cooperatives and increasing the effectiveness of their activity and must not allow any restrictions on the creative activity and initiative of cooperatives' members.

State leadership of cooperatives is exercised in the interests of all the people by soviets of people's deputies and other state organs in strict accordance with the present law.

3. In the event of the cessation of the activity of industrial, agricultural, construction, and other enterprises (organizations) through unprofitableness, insolvency, or lack of demand for their output (jobs and services) or for other reasons envisaged by Article 23 of the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association), the state organs under whose jurisdiction they fall help to create cooperatives for the production of output (jobs and services) on the basis of small and medium enterprises. They are empowered to sell or lease to the newly created cooperatives as well as to existing ones the property of the liquidated enterprises (associations) on terms to be agreed on by the sides.

4. The state, aided by the mass media, creates the most favorable ideological preconditions for cooperatives' activity and ensures everywhere the kind of moral and psychological climate in which each cooperative member is aware that by working in it he or she is performing important and socially useful work and is helping the state to resolve the tasks of the country's economic development and to satisfy the population's demand for goods and services.

Article 27. **Soviets of people's deputies and the development of the cooperative system.**

1. Soviets of people's deputies and other state organs encourage the participation of cooperatives in resolving tasks of national economic, sectorial, and regional importance on the basis of contracts for the fulfillment of state orders by the financing of capital investments and the allocation of quotas (funds) for centrally distributed material and technical resources and for contract and construction and installation work.

2. Soviets of people's deputies and other state organs give cooperatives various forms of assistance: They place at their disposal free or on lease land, production and other premises, and equipment, help them to improve their equipment and techniques and advertise their goods and services, help to formulate an economically efficient production structure, and grant cooperatives various benefits and advantages.

3. Soviets of people's deputies and other state organs give citizens who have expressed the wish to create a cooperative the necessary information on the types of output (jobs and services) in increased demand in a given region at a given time.

4. Soviets of people's deputies and other state organs monitor cooperatives' observance of the existing law on questions of labor protection, safety equipment, health and safety at work, fire precautions, the campaign against animal and plant disease, the protection of natural resources and the environment, and also the observance by cooperatives of financial discipline, obligations regarding payments to the state budget, and accounting and state reporting.

5. Soviets of people's deputies and other state organs comprehensively promote the social development of cooperatives, including the construction of sanatoriums and preventive medical clinics, hospitals, and polyclinics, leisure centers and Young Pioneers' camps, and homes for the aged and invalids by allocating the necessary areas of land for that purpose and setting quotas (funds) for centrally distributed material and technical resources and contract and construction and installation work.

Article 28. **The training of cadres for cooperatives.**

1. Cooperatives are entitled on equal terms with state enterprises and organizations to make use of the potential of the base created in the country for training cadres and improving their skills.

2. State educational institutions under contract with cooperatives train specialists in trades necessary to staff cooperatives with highly skilled cadres.

3. The state at the request of cooperatives trains scientific cadres through the scientific research organizations of USSR ministries and departments, the USSR Academy of Sciences, and sectorial academies as well as through [illegible] educational institutions by means of postgra[illegible]or doctoral study with the cost of such training reimbursed by cooperatives.

4. Cooperatives are empowered on a contractual basis with sectorial institutes to improve the skills of and retrain cadres, primarily in areas connected with the use of the latest achievements of science and technology. Where necessary cooperatives may send specialists for in-service training and retraining to other countries to familiarize themselves with the experience of the organization and activity of cooperatives abroad.

Cooperatives meet the costs incurred from their own resources.

5. The state helps cooperatives and their unions (associations) to develop their network of vocational and technical schools, technical colleges, institutes, and scientific research, planning, technological, and design organizations.

Article 29. **Accounting, reports, and monitoring.**

To analyze the development of production, ensure efficient management, and prevent possible disproportions in the fulfillment of the production program, the cooperative shall assess the results of its activity, keep accounts and produce statistical reports in keeping with the established state procedure, and be answerable for their accuracy. The declaration of income is the legal document which is to fully reflect the cooperative's income, the incomes of its members, and also of citizens working for it under labor contract.

It is forbidden to demand or present any other account not prescribed by the state.

2. The cooperative is to exercise the strict monitoring of the rational and economical use of material, labor, and financial resources, to prevent mismanagement and negligence, to report on thefts and violations of the law to prosecutor's office and internal affairs organs, and to enhance the role and responsibility of accountancy and other services for the observance of legality and contractual and financial discipline.

3. The cooperative in receipt of credits shall submit to the bank's institution an accounting and statistical report on the scale prescribed by the contract.

In the case of irregularities in the accounts of the production and income of the cooperative or of negligence in accounting practice the bank is entitled to terminate credit and its cash account service to the cooperative.

4. The cooperative's activity is audited and examined by its auditing commission as well as by financial and banking institutions, price-fixing organs, and other organizations in accordance with their existing legislative

functions in monitoring the activity of cooperatives. Audits and examinations may also be carried out at the demand of the law enforcement organs and people's control committees. At the same time audits and examinations must not upset the normal rhythm of the cooperative's work.

5. Financial organs monitor the scale of the cooperative's income liable to tax and the accuracy of the taxation of the cooperative members' incomes in accordance with the declaration of income presented by the cooperative in the prescribed manner.

V. Distinguishing Features of Individual Types of Cooperatives [section subhead]

Kolkhozes and Other Agricultural Cooperatives [subhead]

Article 30. **Kolkhozes and other agricultural cooperatives in the agro-industrial complex.**

1. The kolkhoz, as the predominant form of agricultural production cooperative, enjoys all the rights provided by the present law and also has distinguishing features resulting from the specific characteristics of agricultural production and the organization of the management of the agro-industrial complex.

2. The kolkhoz, as an independent collective commodity producer, cooperates on a contractual basis with other enterprises (organizations) in the agro-industrial complex on the basis of integrated production and economic ties.

While making rational use of the land and other production resources allocated to it, the kolkhoz is expected to increase the production of crops and livestock output with the aim of satisfying the population's demand for foodstuffs and industry's demand for agricultural raw materials.

3. In addition to agricultural production and to make fuller use of the land, production capital, labor and financial resources and to increase income, the kolkhoz is entitled to engage without restriction in other types of activity not prohibited by law: the processing of agricultural raw materials, the production of food, consumer goods, and technical production output, trade, repair and construction work, and the provision of services to enterprises, organizations, and the population.

The state assists kolkhozes in the development of various types of activity on the territory of cooperatives themselves and also outside their territory.

4. With a view to making more rational use of land, production capital, and labor resources and increasing the economic interest of kolkhoz members and workers of other agricultural enterprises in increasing labor productivity and the return from the facility, independent economically accountable cooperative collectives whose income is formed by the end results of their economic activity are to be created at kolkhozes and other agricultural enterprises in line with citizens' wishes on collective and family contract terms as the main form of intrafarm production and economic relations as well as of the leasing of land and fixed capital.

A farm may on a contractual basis grant such collectives the right to the independent sale of their output (jobs and services) and the use of the revenue thus produced, including for labor remuneration, the payment of taxes, and deductions into the state social security fund, and also to open accounts in a bank or a financial settlement center.

5. Other types of cooperatives may be created in rural locations, including cooperatives and partnerships for the production and processing of agricultural output, agricultural industrial cooperatives, collective fish farms, construction cooperatives—including for the construction of housing, farm roads, and other facilities—supply and sales cooperatives, credit cooperatives, forestry cooperatives, and cooperatives for the joint management of personal subsidiary plots and the provision of other services.

Kolkhoz members, workers of sovkhozes and other agricultural enterprises, and other citizens may take part in the organization and activity of such cooperatives and partnerships by making their own material contribution.

6. Cooperatives for the rental of tractors and other complex agricultural machinery, trucks, other technical resources, and for the provision of technical production, agrochemical, and other types of services may be formed with the aim of creating the conditions to ensure the efficient operation of agricultural cooperatives, particularly of small-scale producers, and to enable them to make use of progressive techniques and new equipment.

7. Kolkhozes and other agricultural cooperatives collaborating with other enterprises and organizations in the agro-industrial complex may on a voluntary basis, on mutually beneficial terms, without forfeiting their economic independence, and by decision of the general meeting, join rayon and other agro-industrial associations, agricultural combines and firms, and production, science-and-production, and other systems.

If the rights and legitimate interests of the kolkhozes or other cooperatives belonging to the aforementioned associations or systems are infringed or if their joint activity is not economically efficient for the cooperatives they are entitled by decision of the general meeting to withdraw from the association or system.

8. By decision of the general meeting of their members, kolkhozes and other agricultural cooperatives may take part in the creation of interfarm enterprises (associations) if it is economically expedient.

Kolkhozes or other agricultural cooperatives take part through their representatives in the administration of the affairs of the interfarm enterprises (association), receive their due share of the income derived from the sale of its output (jobs and services), and bear material liability for the results of its activity in accordance with the statutes approved by the meeting of farm representatives participating in that enterprise (organization).

Interfarm enterprises (organizations) are completely accountable to the meeting of participating farm representatives.

By decision of the general meeting the kolkhoz or other agricultural cooperative may withdraw from the interfarm enterprise (organization) and have its due share of the common property returned to it.

Article 31. **Features of the economic mechanism on kolkhozes and other agricultural cooperatives.**

1. Kolkhozes independently formulate and approve 5-year plan targets for economic and social development broken down by years. They specify in the plan targets an economically expedient production structure which guarantees the maximum output and income necessary for the development of the farm and the satisfaction of their members' material and social needs.

2. Kolkhozes and other agricultural cooperatives may conclude with enterprises and organizations engaged in the procurement and processing of agricultural output contracts for output supply based on the state order issued to agro-industrial associations, agricultural combines, and other agro-industrial formations, enterprises, and organizations.

These associations and formations carry out measures to encourage deliveries by kolkhozes and other agricultural cooperatives of output under contracts for the fulfillment of the state order by means of a system of prices, the guaranteed sale of produce, the allocation of material and technical resources, and other economic methods.

All output produced in excess of the contract for delivery to enterprises and associations as part of their state order is to be sold by kolkhozes and other agricultural cooperatives at their own discretion to any client and in kolkhoz markets.

3. The output sold by the kolkhoz or other agricultural cooperative to enterprises and organizations under contract for the fulfillment of the state order is to be paid for at prices to be established centrally.

Prices for the residual output sold by the kolkhoz or other agricultural cooperative are set by arrangement between the sides or by the farm independently.

4. In the interests of kolkhozes and the national economy the state provides economic incentives for kolkhoz specialization and promotes the establishment of specialized zones of large-scale commercial production of grain for food and feed, vegetables, fruit, industrial crops, and livestock products, and the maximum processing of crops in the area of production.

Prices for the main specialized crops in each zone supplied by kolkhozes under contracts for the fulfillment of the state order must cover production costs and produce the net income needed for expanded reproduction by kolkhozes situated in relatively inferior natural and economic conditions of the aforementioned zones. Outlays caused by poor farm management should not be taken into account here.

In addition to paying the appropriate tax, kolkhozes situated in relatively superior conditions must pay the state rent which takes account of the quality of the land and other natural and economic conditions. Income gained by kolkhozes as a result of carrying out measures to increase soil fertility and improve it as an economic management project remains fully at the disposal of those cooperatives.

5. Kolkhozes and other agricultural cooperatives which voluntarily join agro-industrial associations, combines, agrofirms, and production and science-and-production associations in the agro-industrial complex system conclude contracts with consumers for their output mindful of the aims and tasks facing those formations.

6. To accelerate the socioeconomic development of kolkhozes and other agricultural cooperatives the state may finance from the budget on both a returnable and a nonreturnable basis work to improve lands, build roads, combat agricultural crop diseases, and carry out environmental protection and other measures of national economic and social significance.

In such cases the state is empowered to give kolkhozes and other agricultural cooperatives an order for the commissioning of projects financed from the budget.

Article 32. **The responsibility of kolkhozes and other agricultural cooperatives for land use.**

1. The kolkhoz or other agricultural cooperative is obliged in its activity to ensure the rational utilization and preservation of the main means of production entrusted to it—the land—as well as of other natural resources and bears full responsibility for this.

When the kolkhoz or other agricultural cooperative allows deterioration in land quality, a fall in soil fertility, or the long-term removal of land from use, the union or autonomous republic council of ministers, or the local soviet ispolkom, may either in part or in full take away from that kolkhoz or other agricultural cooperative the

land allotted to it. In so doing only the cost price of the buildings and premises built at the expense of the kolkhoz or other agricultural cooperative on the lands in question will be repaid.

When agricultural lands are taken away in other circumstances, kolkhozes or other agricultural cooperatives will receive full compensation for the loss incurred by the confiscation of those lands at the expense of the enterprises and organizations to which the land is to be transferred.

2. So as to ensure the more efficient use of lands and other natural resources, the kolkhoz or other agricultural cooperative where necessary has the right by decision of the general meeting to lease land itself or to transfer land tracts for lease to other cooperatives, state enterprises, and also to individual citizens. The period and terms of the lease are fixed by contract. The rent for the use of these resources may be paid in money or in kind.

3. The kolkhoz or other agricultural cooperative must coordinate with the environmental protection organs the location of farm construction projects (livestock complexes, mineral fertilizer and agricultural chemical storage premises, and so forth) which may have an adverse effect on the state of the environment.

Article 33. **The property of kolkhozes and other agricultural cooperatives.**

1. All the property of the kolkhoz or other agricultural cooperative as well as its output and financial resources belong to it.

When receiving financial and property contributions from its members, other enterprises, organizations, and citizens, kolkhozes may by decision of the general meeting dispose of part of its revenue or output in proportion to the scale of those contributions.

2. To increase the interest of the members of the kolkhoz or other agricultural cooperative in improving the use of production capital, part of the annual value of the growth in fixed production capital newly created by means of the cooperative's own resources may be paid into a special account—the unit fund [dolevoy fond] of the members of the kolkhoz or other agricultural cooperative.

This fund's resources are distributed among the members of the kolkhoz or other agricultural cooperative and paid into personal accounts in proportion to their actual labor input. Annual interest is paid on those resources from the gross income on a scale fixed by the general meeting of the kolkhoz or other agricultural cooperative. The income received by the kolkhoz members in the form of annual interest is paid into their personal accounts and may be used at the cooperative members' own discretion.

The procedure for forming and using the unit fund is determined by the charter of the kolkhoz or other agricultural cooperative.

3. When the kolkhoz or other agricultural cooperative is wound up its property, after the settlement of accounts for labor remuneration and payments of unit fund resources from the personal accounts of members of the kolkhoz or other agricultural cooperative, and the settlement of debts to the budget, the banks, shareholders, and other creditors, is transferred by decision of the appropriate council of kolkhozes (association) to other cooperatives and other enterprises (organizations) for agricultural production.

Article 34. **The agricultural cooperative and citizens' private subsidiary plots.**

1. The kolkhoz or other agricultural cooperative creates the conditions for the development of the private subsidiary plot of cooperative members and other citizens, grants them the use of land, helps them to cultivate the land, provides them with fertilizers, chemical plant-protection agents, seeds and sowing materials, feed and pasture, and gives assistance in the acquisition of livestock and poultry, with agrotechnical and veterinary services, the construction and repair of apartment blocks and economic construction projects, and in the sale and processing of their output.

Relations between private subsidiary plots and cooperatives are regulated by their charters and contracts.

The procedure for allocating land and the scale of the allocation and also the maintenance norms for the livestock held as citizens' private property are fixed by rural and settlement soviets of people's deputies and by the general meeting of the membrs of the kolkhoz or other agricultural cooperative.

2. Citizens' private subsidiary plots which rely on the help of the kolkhoz or other agricultural cooperative are expected to produce agricultural output primarily for their own consumption. Citizens owning private subsidiary plots may sell their output by contract with farms, consumer cooperative organizations, and other enterprises, and in the market.

3. By decision of the general meeting the cooperative is empowered to make long-term transfers of plots of land by lease to members of the cooperative and other citizens living in the countryside for the production of agricultural output and its sale to the kolkhoz or other agricultural cooperative, or to the consumers cooperative organization under contract. In addition to land it is also possible to lease buildings, facilities, machinery, equipment, and other material assets necessary to meet contractual commitments. The kolkhoz or other agricultural cooperative may sell horses and other working animals

and small agricultural equipment to citizens with the right to use them for work on the private subsidiary plot and for the fulfillment of contract work.

4. With a view to the broader involvement of agricultural cooperative members in work to cultivate agricultural crops and tend livestock and poultry, women with young children and people who because of age, infirmity, or other valid reasons cannot actively participate in public sector production must, under the procedure set by the cooperative charter, include in the overall work record the time spent by them on work in the production of agricultural output on the private subsidiary plot and its sale under contract with the kolkhoz.

Article 35. **Elective representative kolkhoz organs.**

1. On the basis of the principles of kolkhoz democracy, the following kolkhoz elective organs are to be created and to operate to examine current and long-term questions of kolkhozes' life and activity, to generalize their work experience, and to draft recommendations to and effect kolkhozes' representation on state organs and public organizations: the all-union and republic congresses of kolkhoz members, oblast, kray, republic (autonomous republic) conferences of kolkhoz members, rayon meetings of kolkhoz representatives, and the corresponding kolkhoz councils elected by them.

2. The all-union congress of kolkhoz members is to be convened at least once every 5 years. When necessary an extraordinary congress of kolkhoz members may be convened at the request of at least one-third of the members of the union council of kolkhoz members.

The all-union congress of kolkhoz members examines the economic situation of kolkhozes within the system of the country's agro-industrial complex, adopts, amends, and augments the Model Kolkhoz Charter as well as other normative acts on the most important questions of the development of the kolkhoz system, and elects the Union Council of Kolkhozes and ratifies its Statute.

The all-union congress of kolkhoz members and the Union Council of Kolkhozes has the right to initiate legislation.

3. Meetings of rayon kolkhoz representatives may authorize rayon agro-industrial association councils or other organs of management of the agro-industrial complex in the rayon to represent their interests on state, planning, economic, and other organs.

4. Kolkhozes and their elective representative organs may take part in the activity of international cooperative organizations and establish and develop trade-economic, scientific-technical, and cultural ties and cooperation with agricultural cooperatives and other enterprises in the CEMA countries as well as with enterprises and firms in capitalist and developing countries.

Cooperatives in the Production and Services Spheres [subhead]

Article 36. **Areas of the cooperative's activity. Membership of the cooperative.**

1. Cooperatives in the production and services spheres primarily specialize in the manufacture and sale of consumer goods and in providing various paid services to the population, and also in the production and sale of technical production output and work for the population, enterprises, and organizations.

2. All citizens who wish to take part in the production of consumer goods and of technical production output and the provision of services may enter cooperatives without restriction. The preferential right to cooperative membership is given to workers released from state enterprises, organizations, and institutions, pensioners, invalids, housewives, students, and schoolchildren. Workers, scientists, engineering and technical workers, and employees of state enterprises (associations) and organizations may in accordance with the set procedure also take part in cooperatives' activity in the time free from their main occupation either by labor contract or as cooperative members.

Cooperative membership stipulates citizens' obligatory labor participation in its activity. The state takes measures to prevent the use of cooperatives for private enterprise using hired labor under the guise of the creation of a cooperative.

The ratio of the number of people employed in the cooperative under labor contract to the number of cooperative members is regulated by the local soviet ispolkom in the light of social need and the form of the cooperative's activity.

The state encourages citizens engaged in individual labor activity to join together in cooperatives.

3. To accelerate scientific and technical progress and to reduce the time it takes to put scientific developments into production, the state comprehensively encourages the creation and promotes the development of cooperatives in the sphere of scientific and scientific-technical services, planning, engineering, design, promotional, and other services, and cooperatives for the production of goods, output, and services based on scientific discoveries and inventions as well as on personal involvement in the work of those cooperatives by the people responsible for those discoveries and inventions.

4. Only those people with the necessary training, professional aptitude, and the relevant education may be members of cooperatives whose work requires specialized knowledge and skill.

Article 37. **Relations between cooperatives in the production and services sphere and local soviets of people's deputies.**

1. The cooperative collaborates with local soviets of people's deputies in finding and utilizing reserves and potential for expanding the production and range of goods and services and improving their quality in accordance with the population's demand, and in resolving questions of the social development of the cooperative's labor collective.

2 Local soviets give priority assistance to cooperatives taking part in the fulfillment of state orders for the production of consumer goods and the provision of services to the population, as well as to cooperatives based on the labor of invalids, and grant such cooperatives benefits in acquiring premises and material resources and in satisfying their members' social needs.

3. Local soviets encourage the active participation of cooperatives in oblast and republic fairs for the wholesale sale of consumer goods and the raw and semifinished materials for their manufacture.

4. When taking measures to encourage the expansion of the network of cooperatives on a given territory, local soviet ispolkoms together with the relevant unions (associations) of cooperatives and organs of state management must use economic methods to counteract the monopolist tendencies of individual cooperatives, artificially high prices, restrictions on the production and marketing of goods and the sale of services in consumer demand, and must comprehensively promote the development of cooperatives on a sound economic basis.

Article 38. **Sale of cooperatives' output in the production and services sphere.**

1. Cooperatives in the production and services sphere sell their output to the population and to state and cooperative enterprises and organizations independently as well as on the basis of contracts via state and cooperative retail trade stores both at the place of manufacture and in other cities and rayons.

The output sold by the cooperative bears a mark of origin and a trademark.

For the independent sale of its own output the cooperative may, by agreement with local soviets, open stores, offices, or kiosks, including those in which several cooperatives participate on a share basis. Local soviets lease the necessary premises to cooperatives.

2. In the case of the sale of output to the population via the state and cooperative trade network and also to state and cooperative enterprises and organizations, cooperatives bear the responsibility for meeting their own contractual commitments in the manner and on the terms envisaged by the existing law.

State and cooperative trade enterprises and organizations may receive from cooperatives output manufactured by them for sale to the population on a commission basis with payment in proportion to the sale of that output.

Article 39. **Material liability of members of cooperatives in the production and services sphere.**

Members of a cooperative in the production and services sphere are responsible for the cooperative's debts in the manner and on the scale and terms laid down by its charter.

Article 40. **Sale and distribution of the property of cooperatives in the production and services sphere on their liquidation.**

On the liquidation of cooperatives in the production and services sphere, the buildings, premises, machinery, equipment, implements, stocks of raw and other materials, unsold finished output, and other property are the property of the cooperative and are sold to state and cooperative enterprises and organizations as well as to citizens at contractual prices.

The proceeds from the sale of property and the financial resources belonging to the cooperative after meeting its budget deficit and debts to the banks and other creditors and accounts for wages to people who have been working for the cooperative under a labor contract are to be distributed among cooperative members in the manner and on the terms prescribed by the charter.

Consumer Cooperatives [subhead]

Article 41. **Characteristics of the consumer cooperative system in the sphere of circulation.**

1. Consumer cooperatives in the sphere of circulation and in related goods and services production organizations (consumer societies) may join on a voluntary basis into unions (associations) which form the consumer cooperative system and which create their own elective representative organs.

2. The main tasks of the consumer cooperative system are:

the creation and development in villages and cities of a network of retail trade and public catering enterprises, and cooperation with state trade enterprises and organizations in the supply to their members and the population of food and nonfood goods which they have produced themselves and those bought from production cooperatives, state enterprises, and citizens, as well as goods obtained from state market stocks;

the purchase from the population, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes of agricultural products and raw materials, goods produced by subsidiary enterprises and trade, wild fruit, berries, and mushrooms, and medicinal raw materials for subsequent processing and sale through retail trade and for supply to industry;

the organization of the production of foodstuffs and nonfood goods from purchased agricultural and other local raw materials, as well as from raw and other materials allocated centrally by the state and acquired by wholesale trade;

the provision to the population of various services of a production and domestic nature.

3. To perform the main tasks of the consumer cooperative—guaranteed supply of goods and services and work for their members as well as services to the population both in the countryside and in urban locations—industrial (craft), construction, transport, and other types of production cooperatives may be created in the consumer cooperative system and enterprises may operate where production and labor can be organized using the principles provided by the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association).

4. Consumer societies' members are entitled to priority in the acquisition of goods in cooperative stores and the guaranteed sale of the produce of their private subsidiary plots and workshops on a contractual basis via the procurement and trade organizations and enterprises of the consumer cooperative system; they benefit from the latter's services and are also entitled to preference when it comes to employment in the consumer cooperative system.

5. When the consumer cooperative is liquidated its property remaining after the settlement of accounts for labor remuneration and debts to the budget, banks, and other creditors is transferred to the cooperative union (association) to which the said consumer society belonged.

Article 42. **The consumer cooperative system in the countryside.**

1. Organizations and enterprises of the consumer cooperative system which operate in the countryside actively cooperate on a contractual basis with kolkhozes and other enterprises and organizations in the agro-industrial complex in the development of the economy, in ensuring the self-sufficiency of rural regions with goods, work, and services, and in the social organization of the countryside.

With these aims in mind the consumer cooperative system is to expand the material and technical base of procurements and the processing of agricultural products and raw materials, to operate as close as possible to the population and to the agricultural production areas, and to create a comprehensive system for procurement, processing, and trade services enabling rural workers and other citizens owning private subsidiary plots to sell surplus agricultural produce on the spot and to obtain the goods they require.

2. Agro-industrial complex enterprises and organizations ensure efficient cooperation with consumer cooperative organizations in the creation of procurement and processing enterprises on kolkhozes and sovkhozes themselves and in the construction on a shared basis of retail trade, public catering, and cultural and consumer facilities.

Consumer cooperative organizations in the countryside may create various production, transport, construction, and other enterprises for the production of consumer goods, technical production goods, and the performance of work and services.

Article 43. **The consumer cooperative system in the cities.**

1. In the interests of improving the population's supply of goods (jobs and services) in cities, cooperatives of any types belonging to the consumer cooperative system may be created in addition to state enterprises and organizations in all spheres of social and economic activity.

2. Consumer cooperatives in cities are organized both on independent principles and under enterprises, organizations, and institutions.

3. Public catering cooperatives may be created under industrial, construction, and other enterprises, organizations, and institutions with the enterprises, organizations, and institutions participating in them as collective members.

Cooperatives for the production, procurement, and processing of agricultural output may be set up to supply the aforementioned public catering cooperatives with food resources [illegible] to improve the supply of catering products to the labor collectives of enterprises, organizations, and institutions.

4. The enterprises, organizations, and institutions under which the aforementioned cooperatives are created may offer benefits and advantages to their workers who are cooperative members and who contribute their labor to the cooperatives in their own free time.

Article 44. **Membership of a consumer society.**

1. Membership of a consumer society is not necessarily dependent on citizens' labor participation in its activity. Consumer society members pay a monetary joining fee and regular dues.

When members leave a consumer society their entire subscription is refunded together with the proportion of distributable society income (profits) accruing to them.

Consumer society members' initial dues are not refundable.

The liability of consumer society members for its commitments is limited to the extent of their regular subscription.

2. Together with ordinary citizens other cooperatives producing output and goods, cooperatives providing services, enterprises, and organizations may join consumer societies as collective members.

Collective members of consumer societies retain their economic independence and their rights as legal entities and are guided in their activity by their own charter (statute). They have their own independent property liabilities. Consumer societies are not responsible for the liabilities of their collective members, while the liability of societies' collective members is limited to the extent of their regular subscription.

The economic relationship between a consumer society and a collective member shall be on a contractual basis. Any decision concerning collective members' property rights can only be made with their consent.

3. Where economically expedient corresponding cooperatives may be set up within the consumer cooperative system on the basis of enterprises operating within this system—including enterprises based on the collective or family contract—with a view to improving the economic efficiency and material interest of labor collectives and expanding the democratic foundations of the activity of trading, public catering, industrial, procurement, and construction enterprises.

Article 45. **The formation of the consumer cooperative system's commoddity resources.**

1. With a view to increasing commodity resources consumer societies and their unions (associations):

introduce into retail trade turnover articles manufactured by goods-production cooperatives or citizens engaged in individual labor activity, and—on the basis of direct ties—output produced by state enterprises;

develop their own livestock-fattening and other subsidiary farms, as well as the production of food and nonfood goods at cooperative industrial enterprises;

promote the development in the countryside of cooperatives and citizens' personal subsidiary farms for raising and fattening livestock, poultry, and rabbits, for producing vegetables, fruit, and berries, and for ensuring their primary processing and subsequent delivery to consumer societies on a contractual basis. To that end consumer societies allocate to these farms on a contractual basis mixed feed, the requisite equipment, and other material and technical resources required to carry out the activity; and extensively introduce local construction material resources into turnover.

2. Consumer societies and their unions (associations) may on a contractual basis undertake to carry out the functions of selling via the retail trade network the food and nonfood goods allocated to them out of state funds, purchasing agricultural products and raw materials, and producing certain consumer goods in performance of state orders.

3. Consumer cooperative system organizations and enterprises are entitled to acquire consumer goods, raw materials, fuel, materials, small pieces of equipment, spares, tools, semimanufactures, and other items through the wholesale trade network from state enterprises and organizations, other cooperative and social organizations, or citizens, as well as through their own or the state retail trade network for cash or by credit transfer. In the retail trade network goods may be acquired from the list laid down by local ispolkoms.

Article 46. **Prices and tariffs for the output and services of consumer cooperative system enterprises and organizations.**

1. Consumer societies and their unions (associations) are entitled independently or by agreement with their customers to set prices:

for sales both within their own trading network and to customer enterprises and organizations of agricultural products and raw materials purchased at an agreed price from the population, kolkhozes, or sovkhozes, produced on their own subsidiary farms, or procured independently; and for products derived from these raw materials;

for industrial consumer goods produced by cooperative enterprises, the output of public catering enterprises, and the tariffs on the work they do and the services they provide.

2. Consumer societies may grant their members benefits in the form of discounts on the retail price of the goods and services they sell and preferential treatment when buying goods on credit. These advantages and benefits are funded out of the income (profit) obtained from the production, trade, and other types of activity undertaken by consumer cooperative system enterprises.

Article 47. **Cooperatives' activities in meeting their members' housing and consumer needs.**

1. Citizens may set up on a voluntary basis housing construction, garage construction, and dacha construction cooperatives, individual house-building partnerships, or other consumer cooperatives to meet their own housing and consumer needs.

The main direction of the activity of these cooperatives and partnerships is their investment in the construction and subsequent operation of cooperative-owned buildings (apartment blocks, garages, and so forth)—and, in cases stipulated in the charters, of buildings personally owned by cooperative (partnership) members—and also the provision of services to cooperative (partnership) members in line with the aims of their creation.

2. State and cooperative enterprises and organizations shall give individual house-building partnerships every possible assistance in building housing and preparing construction sites, and may shoulder part of the cost borne by individual construction workers and partnerships as a whole.

3. Cooperatives meeting their members' housing and consumer needs may be set up to participate in the construction and operation of buildings designed to meet the needs of cooperative members and belonging under the right of common ownership to a given cooperative and the state, a cooperative and a kolkhoz, or another cooperative and social organization; and to operate buildings belonging under the right of ownership to the state, a kolkhoz, or another cooperative and social organization.

4. The work needed for the cooperative's activity is carried out under contracts concluded by the cooperative both with members of the said cooperative and with other citizens, enterprises, or organizations. Cooperative members are allowed to carry out work on the basis of their membership relations.

Article 48. **Horticultural and truck farming partnerships.**

1. Horticultural and truck farming partnerships are components of the cooperative system. They create the conditions for working people to relax, they strengthen their health, involve young people in work, and help cooperative members to produce output for their personal use as well as for sale.

2. State, cooperative, and other enterprises and organizations help horticultural and truck farming partnerships to carry out construction work, to reclaim land, to lay on facilities in certain areas, to work the land, to provide agrotechnical services, and to carry out other work using partnership funds on a contractual basis, and may provide financial and other assistance to horticultural and truck farming partnerships organized in association with them at the decision of their own labor collectives using their own funds.

3. With a view to making more rational use of agricultural produce and reducing losses of such produce horticultural partnerships may set up processing centers, warehouses, trading kiosks, and joinery and repair workshops, become collective owners of agricultural machinery, means of transport, working and productive livestock, and other means of production, and create cultural and consumer projects.

Article 49. **On the guarantee of the observance of cooperatives' rights.**

Central and local state organs are responsible for observing the provisions of this law, shall be guided by them when adopting normative documents linked with cooperatives' practical activity, and shall build their relations with cooperatives strictly in accordance with this law.

Article 50. **Features of the application of this law.**

The features of the application of this law in the individual national economic sectors and with regard to the individual types of cooperatives shall be determined by the USSR Council of Ministers.

Scientific

Glavkosmos Launches Indian Satellite 'IRS-1A'

Parameters Detailed

LD171122 Moscow TASS in English 1058 GMT 17 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 17 TASS—An Indian satellite, IRS-1A, was today launched by the Soviet Vostok booster rocket in the Soviet Union.

The satellite is designed to obtain with the aid of the optico-electronic equipment prompt information to study the earth's natural resources.

Work to prepare and rocket into space the Indian satellite was carried out by the USSR Chief Administration for the Development and Use of Space Engineering for the Economy and Research (Glavkosmos) under a commercial agreement concluded by the All-Union Association Licenceintorg and the Indian Space Research Organisation.

The IRS-1A satellite was put into a synchronous solar orbit with the following parameters:

Maximum distance from the earth's surface—917 kilometers

Minimum distance from the earth's surface—863 kilometers

Period of revolution—102.7 minutes

Orbit inclination—99.01 degrees.

According to telemetry, the equipment installed in the satellite is operating normally.

The flight of the IRS-1A satellite is currently controlled by the Soviet monitoring station, Medvezhyi Ozyora, located near Moscow and the Indian control center in the city of Bangalore.

Delegation Comments on Launch

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[Text] Baykonur Spaceport March 17 TASS—TASS news analyst Nikolay Zheleznov reports:

The Indian satellite, IRS-1A, which rocketed away from the Soviet cosmodrome in Kazakhstan this morning, confidently puts India in one rank with leading space powers developing nature studies, one of the promising fields of cosmonautics. The satellite is equipped with a double-range optical scanning system of the last generation and thanks to the synchronous-solar near-polar orbit can photograph during one passage a 150-kilometer-wide strip. The satellite was launched by the Soviet rocket booster for the first time on commercial terms.

The launching was watched by the Indian delegation led by Triloki Nath Kaul, ambassador of India to the USSR, Wilhelm F. Christians, chairman of the Duetsche Bank board, and also a group of Soviet and foreign journalists.

IRS-1A is the fourth Indian satellite. The first three satellites—Aryabatha, Bhaskara-1 and Bhaskara-2—were launched from the Soviet Kapustin Yar Cosmodrome also under nature studies programme. This first Soviet spaceport located near Volgograd and also the Medvezhyi Ozera Control Center near Moscow became a school of space science for many Indian specialists. "And not only for specialists from India but also other developing countries", Dr U.R. Rao, chairman of the Indian space research organisation, who worked with the group of Indian engineers for two months to prepare the satellite for liftoff, said in a talk with the TASS correspondent.

We speed up the setting up of an international space centre in India, whose idea was aired by Mikhail Gorbachev during his visit to India. Even now, during the flight of the IRS-1A satellite, which is designed to be in operation for two to three years, we intend to photograph the territory of several developing Asian and African countries, Rao said. Specialists from 18 countries have already undergone initial training in deciphering space information in the Indian space research organisation. "We are especially attracted by such tasks, which are common to those regions, as tropic forest conservancy and efforts to combat desertification".

Aleksandr Dunayev, head of the USSR Chief Administration for the Development and Use of Space Engineering for the Economy and Research (Glavkosmos), told me that "the first commercial agreement does not reflect the real expenditures on the launching. The launching cost is considerably lower than commercial launch prices on the world market". Dunayev emphasized that in this issue the Soviet side proceeded from the character of exclusively friendly relations that have shaped up between the space services of the USSR and India throughout a quarter of a century. "Besides, we were guided by one more important motive—the need to develop expeditiously nature studies from space in developing countries", Aleksandr Dunayev said.

Satellite Functions Described

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[Text] Preparation is drawing to an end at the Baykonur launching site for putting into orbit the Indian IRS-1A satellite by Soviet rocket. Our correspondent Leonid Lazarevich is covering this space launch:

[Begin Lazarevich recording] Indian specialists are participating in preparing the IRS-1A for the flight at the launching base. This is the fourth Indian satellite to be placed into orbit by a Soviet rocket. The first such launch was undertaken in 1975. The present satellite is considerably larger. It weights a little under a metric ton, almost 3 times more than its predecessors. Naturally, the satellite has great research potential. It is intended to study India's natural resources. Several television cameras have been installed on the IRS-1A. They have rather good resolution capability. They are able to distinguish landscape details with the dimension of 70 meters from a height of 680 km.

Information will be sent continually to earth. It represents an enormous value for meteorologists, agricultural specialists, and geologists. Here are just two examples: It is able to capture the change in the course of rivers—frequent floods make this information invaluable to India. The satellite is also able to make out breaks in the earth's core—mineral deposits are very often discovered in these areas. The research ought to yield a large economic benefit.

This is the first time our country has launched a foreign satellite on a commercial basis. India is paying for the use of the carrier rocket. True, the price does not yet reflect the true cost of the launch. But let us not forget: This is our first commercial experience in this sphere. [end recording]